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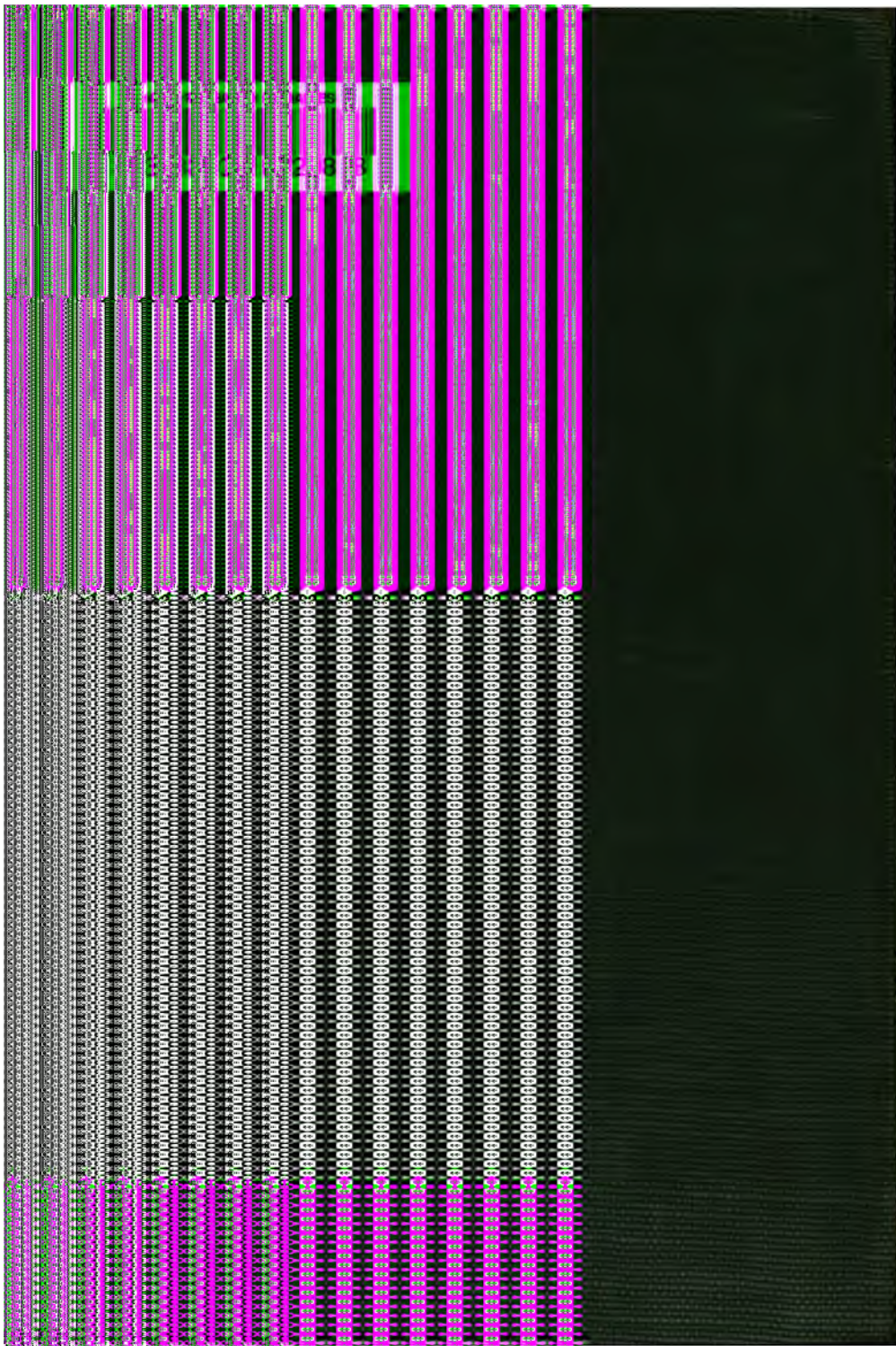
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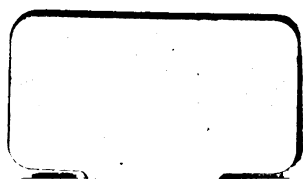
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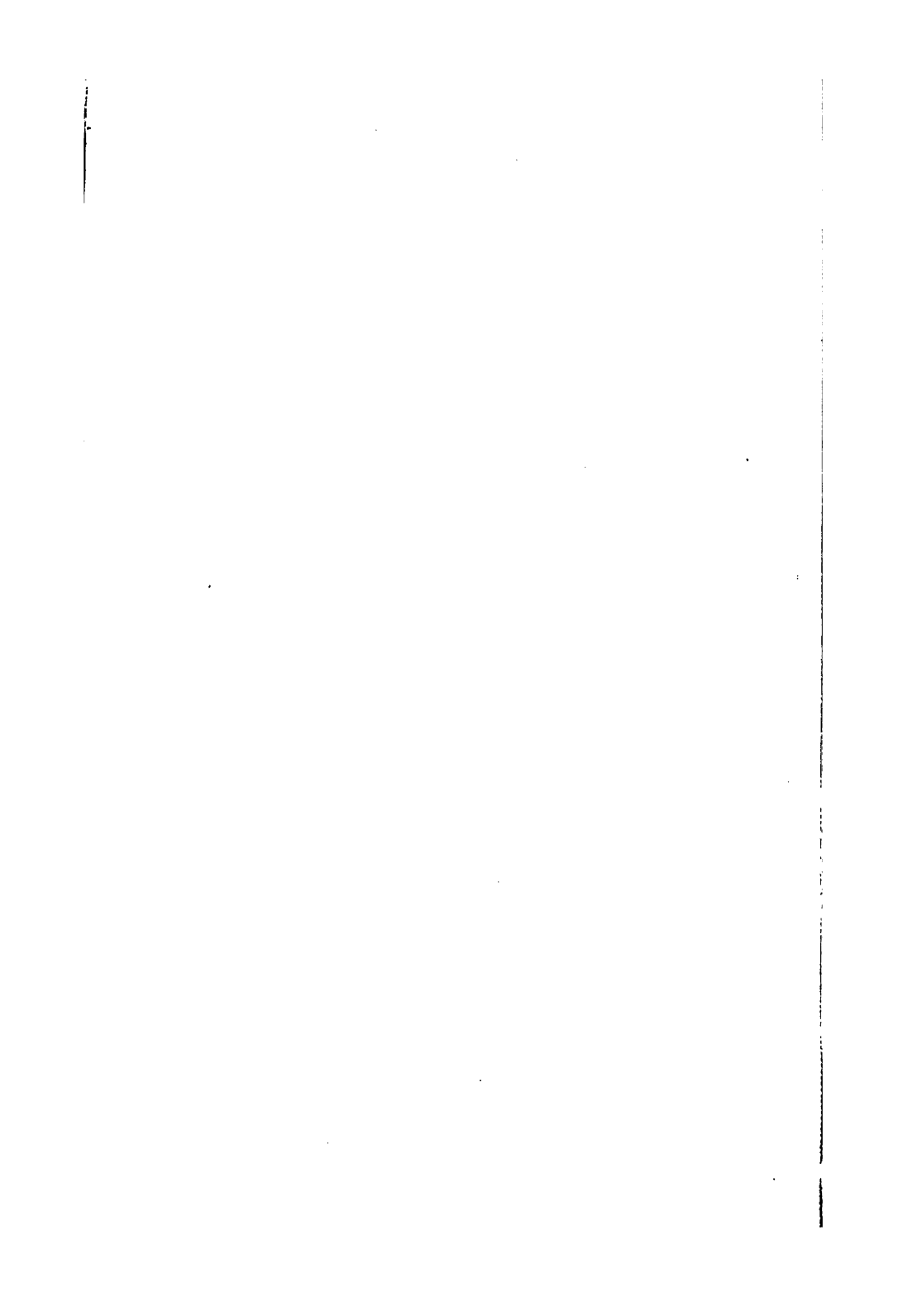
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AMERICANISM

Woodrow Wilson's Speeches on
the War—Why He Made Them
—and—What They Have Done

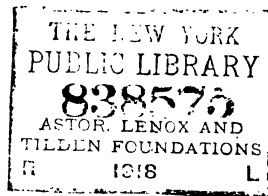
The President's Principal Utterances in the
first year of war; with notes, comments and
war dates, giving them their historical setting,
significance and consequences, and with brief
quotations from earlier speeches and papers.

Compiled, Edited and Annotated

BY

OLIVER MARBLE GALE

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FOREWORD .

One of the most interesting and significant facts noted in glancing back over the course of the war is this: The Central Powers have been getting *worse* all the time in their political morality, and the Allies have been getting *better*.

The issue between them is now perfectly clear. The Central Powers are seen to be fighting for the glory and success of everything that is hateful to humanity. The Allies know that they themselves are fighting to make the world a fit place to live in.

The issue was not so clear at first. It was only as the Allies came to realize the unbelievable evil that Germany stood for that their own purposes were purified and they were consecrated to winning the war for the sake of all humanity.

No one, perhaps, has done so much to bring out the real issue as Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. His calm, clear, steady, eloquent statements of Allied war aims and peace purposes, expressing the ideals which lay in the hearts of free men and women everywhere, have made him the world's accepted leader in the war for world democracy.

The addresses, speeches and statements that have changed the face of history, brought him this leadership, and flung a peace-loving nation into the most hideous war of history with joyous, selfless devotion, are printed again in this little book, available to all. They are accompanied by notes, international comments, and a chronology of military and political war events, to bring out their setting, their significance and their consequences.

Extracts are included from public statements made by Mr. Wilson before the beginning of the war and during the years before our entrance into it. These reveal the essential democracy of the President, and the unfoldment of the new Americanism.

Possibly nothing could recall the course of the war and our own attitude towards it so clearly as reading in retrospect these words of Woodrow Wilson.

The book is brought down to include the President's 4th of July speech at the Tomb of Washington.

August 1, 1918.

OLIVER MARBLE GALE.

"THIS great president has focused the issues of the conflict in a series of addresses and state papers unsurpassed for their cogency and clearness, their insight and foresight . . . It is perhaps easier for him to fix a constant gaze upon the essential amidst the bewildering play of incidents and accidents from day to day. We have thus come one and all increasingly to value his leadership and to recognize in his vision and determination a guarantee for that of the alliance as a whole."

—*Daily Chronicle*

DEVELOPMENT

(BRIEF QUOTATIONS FROM EARLIER PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS, AND UP TO THE TIME OF AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WORLD WAR, SHOWING PRESIDENT WILSON'S FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY, AND THE DEVELOPMENTS IN HIS THOUGHT UPON QUESTIONS OF NEUTRALITY, PREPAREDNESS AND THE WORLD MEANING OF THE WAR. WITH DATES OF LEADING RELATED EVENTS.)

BEFORE WAR.

NOVEMBER 4, 1912—WOODROW WILSON ELECTED PRESIDENT.

MARCH 4, 1913—WOODROW WILSON INAUGURATED.

(In his inaugural address, President Wilson sketched out the social and economic program which he conceived the Democratic party had been called into power to carry out. The concluding paragraphs of his inaugural, here quoted, give a high light on his conception of the obligation and opportunity at hand.)

The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me.

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APRIL 8, 1913—PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS A SPECIAL MESSAGE ON TARIFF REVISION.

(President Wilson addressed Congress in person. No other president since John Adams had done this. It has since become a common practice with him. An extract illustrates the President's attitude toward this subject of tariff.)

. . . we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly. . . We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage. . .

MAY 26, 1913—PRESIDENT WILSON ISSUES A PUBLIC WARNING AGAINST LOBBYISTS.

(Certain interests were attempting unduly to influence tariff legislation. The President exposed them and invoked public opinion. Lobbying stopped.)

I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff Bill. Great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. . . Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

JULY 4, 1913—(THIRTEEN MONTHS BEFORE THE WAR.) PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES A REUNION OF G. A. R. AND CONFEDERATE VETERANS AT GETTYSBURG, PA.

Here is a great people, great with every force that has ever beaten in the lifeblood of mankind. And it is secure. There is no one within its borders, there is no power among the nations of the earth, to make it afraid.

OCTOBER 27, 1913—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONGRESS AT MOBILE, ALABAMA.

(Delegates were present from South and Central American countries. President Wilson made occasion to reassure them of our just friendship. Mistrust of us began to disappear after this address. The theme of it is given here.)

Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity as against material interests—that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face.

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DECEMBER 2, 1913—(EIGHT MONTHS BEFORE THE WAR.) CONGRESS CONVENES, AND PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS HIS FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE.

The country, I am thankful to say, is at peace with all the world, and many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community of interest among the nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will. . . .

JUNE 28, 1914—ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA ASSASSINATED AT SERAJEVO, BOSNIA.

AUGUST 1, 1914—WORLD WAR BEGINS; GERMANS ENTER BELGIUM.

AUGUST 4, 1914—ENGLAND ENTERS WAR.

NEUTRALITY.

AUGUST 19, 1914—THE PRESIDENT PROCLAIMS THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND ASKS CITIZENS TO RESPECT IT IN WORD, DEED AND THOUGHT.

(The doctrine of America's destiny as the trustee of peace is first advanced in this neutrality proclamation.)

I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European War may exert upon the United States. This great country of ours should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action. . . .

AUGUST 20, 1914—GERMANS ENTER BRUSSELS.

AUGUST 26, 1914—GERMANS DESTROY LOUVAIN.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1914—RUSSIANS CAPTURE LEMBERG.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1914—FRENCH GOVERNMENT LEAVES PARIS; GERMANS STILL SWEEP ON.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1914—ALLIES TURN THE GERMANS BACK AT THE MARNE.

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SEPTEMBER 18, 1914—GERMANS BOMBARD RHEIMS CATHEDRAL.

DECEMBER 8, 1914—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS NEWLY CONVENED.

(Another enunciation of the President's doctrine of neutrality is found in this address.)

We are at peace with all the world. No one . . . can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. . . . We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world. . . . *We are the champions of peace and of concord.* . . .

DECEMBER 9, 1914—FRENCH GOVERNMENT RETURNS TO PARIS.

FEBRUARY 12, 1915—GERMANS BEGIN TO WIN IN EAST PRUSSIA.

FEBRUARY 19, 1915—BRITISH AND FRENCH FLEETS BOMBARD THE DARDANELLES FORTS.

MARCH 10, 1915—BATTLE OF NEUVE CHAPPELLE BEGINS.

MARCH 22, 1915—RUSSIANS CAPTURE PRZEMYSL.

APRIL 20, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, NEW YORK CITY.

(A neutrality pronouncement. Some Americans were not convinced.)

My interest in the neutrality of the United States is not the petty desire to keep out of trouble. . . . But I am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than fight; there is a distinction waiting for this nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery. . . . We are trustees for what I venture to say is the greatest heritage that any nation ever had, the love of justice and righteousness and human liberty.

MAY 2, 1915—GERMANS TURN BACK THE RUSSIAN TIDE IN EAST GALICIA.

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MAY 7, 1915—LUSITANIA TORPEDOED.

(Immense excitement followed. Demands for war at once were loud and insistent.)

MAY 10, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES A GROUP OF NEWLY NATURALIZED CITIZENS AT PHILADELPHIA.

(This speech contained a phrase which provoked much scorn.)

There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

MAY 13, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS FIRST LUSITANIA NOTE.

. . . it (the United States) must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability. . .

FIRST LUSITANIA NOTE.

MAY 23, 1915—ITALY GOES TO WAR.

JULY 9, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS A SECOND NOTE ON THE LUSITANIA CASE.

(Germany's reply set up the defense that the Lusitania had been armed. The second note placed the issue on broader grounds.)

The Government of the United States is contending for . . . the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting. . .

JULY 21, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON DISPATCHES ANOTHER NOTE TO GERMANY.

(The President's third note obtained a promise from Germany to sink no more ships without warning.)

Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts of contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

AUGUST 4, 1915—GERMANS, CONTINUALLY VICTORIOUS IN THE EAST, OCCUPY WARSAW.

AUGUST 6, 1915—BRITISH LAND AT GALLIPOLI.

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SEPTEMBER 8, 1915—RUSSIANS STOP GERMANS.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1915—TEUTONS TURN ON SERBIA.

SEPTEMBER 25-30, 1915—BATTLE OF CHAMPAGNE.

OCTOBER 9-10, 1915—AUSTRO-GERMANS CAPTURE BELGRADE.

OCTOBER 11, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AT WASHINGTON.

(The President again expounded the doctrine of American neutrality. There was a growing tendency to defer to his patience and trust to his judgment.)

. . . We stand apart, unembroiled, conscious of our own principles, conscious of what we hope and purpose. . . Neutrality is a negative word. It is a word that does not express what America ought to feel. . . We are not trying to keep out of trouble; we are trying to preserve the foundations upon which peace can be rebuilt.

OCTOBER 12, 1915—EDITH CAVELL, AN ENGLISH NURSE, EXECUTED AS A SPY BY THE GERMANS AT BRUSSELS.

NOVEMBER, 1915—ANOTHER WINTER IN THE TRENCHES CERTAIN.

NOVEMBER 7, 1915—ITALIAN LINER ANCONA SUNK.

PREPAREDNESS

NOVEMBER 11, 1915—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES THE MANHATTAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY.

(President Wilson was awakening to the deeper meanings of the World War. This address contains his first public utterance upon the subject of preparedness.)

. . . we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free of masters altogether.

. . . The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good will among men.

Within a year we have witnessed what we did not believe possible, a great European conflict involving many of the greatest

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nations of the world. The influences of a great war are everywhere in the air. . . .

No thoughtful man feels any panic haste in this matter. The country is not threatened from any quarter.

. . . Speak in terms of deepest solemnity of the urgency and necessity of preparing ourselves.

DECEMBER 7, 1915—CONGRESS CONVENES.

(President Wilson went before Congress and asked for the greatest navy in the world, and laid down plans for a citizen army.)

Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the Union the war of nations on the other side of the sea . . . has extended its threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame some portion of every quarter of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere. . . .

We have stood apart, studiously neutral . . . it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive.

. . . But we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves and of the governments which they have set up to serve them.

DECEMBER 30, 1915—LINER PERSIA TORPEDOED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

JANUARY 1, 1916—ALLIES ARE UNABLE TO PROGRESS AGAINST THE CENTRAL POWERS. THE WESTERN FRONT IS A DEADLOCK. RUSSIA IS HELD FIRM. AUSTRO-GERMANS ARE OVERRUNNING SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO. THE COSTLY FAILURE AT GALLIPOLI IS BECOMING APPARENT. SUBMARINES ARE VERY DESTRUCTIVE. A DARK DAY FOR FREE MEN.

JANUARY 9, 1916—BRITISH EVACUATE GALLIPOLI PENINSULA.

JANUARY 13, 1916—CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO CAPTURED.

JANUARY 23, 1916—CAPITAL OF ALBANIA CAPTURED.

JANUARY 27 - FEBRUARY 3, 1916—PREPAREDNESS SPEECHES.

(Six weeks after his preparedness appeal to Congress, President Wilson made a tour of the Middle West to line up the

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country for preparedness. Extracts from these speeches show a growing comprehension of the German threat.)

If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow countrymen than another, it is the passion for peace. . . .

But, gentlemen, there is something that the American people love better than they love peace. . . . They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and of their honor. . . . We cannot surrender our convictions.

We live in a world which we did not make, which we cannot alter, which we cannot think into a different condition from that which actually exists.

. . . more than a year ago . . . I said that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question. But more than a year has gone by since then and I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in fourteen months. The minute I stop changing my mind with the change of all the circumstances of the world, I will be a back number.

I cannot tell you what the international relations of this country will be tomorrow, and I use the word literally. . . .

(NEW YORK CITY.)

The world is on fire, and there is tinder everywhere. . . .

It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. We are in the midst of a world that we did not make and cannot alter; . . . I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant. . . . new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself. . . .

(PITTSBURG, PA.)

. . . let me tell you very solemnly you cannot afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth.

. . . no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth.

(CLEVELAND, OHIO)

. . . there may at any moment come a time when I cannot preserve both the honor and the peace of the United States.

(MILWAUKEE, WIS.)

My fellow citizens, you may be called upon any day to stand behind me to maintain the honor of the United States.

(DES MOINES, IA.)

There may come a time—I pray God it may never come, but it may, in spite of everything we do, come upon us, and come of a sudden—when I shall have to ask: “I have had my say; who stands back of me?”

(KANSAS CITY, MO.)

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FEBRUARY 22, 1916—GERMAN CROWN PRINCE BEGINS VERDUN ATTACK.

(This was the most violent and dangerous offensive since the first German onrush. There were anxious weeks before it was finally stopped.)

MARCH 18-30, 1916—RUSSIANS RECOVER OFFENSIVE IN RIGA REGION.

MARCH 24, 1916—SUSSEX, CHANNEL PASSENGER STEAMER, TORPEDOED WITH GREAT LOSS OF LIFE.

APRIL 18, 1916—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS A NOTE TO GERMANY UPON THE SUSSEX SINKING.

(The President, reminding Germany of her evil record, takes a firm stand.)

Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.

The Government of the United States has been very patient. If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations.

APRIL 19, 1916—SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE SUSSEX SINKING.

(The President at once informed Congress of the stand he had taken in the Sussex matter.)

. . . But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesman of the

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rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war.

APRIL 24, 1916—EASTER INSURRECTION IN DUBLIN.

MAY 4, 1916—GERMANY AGAIN PROMISES TO AMEND HER METHOD OF SUBMARINE WARFARE.

MAY 8, 1916—NOTE DISPATCHED TO GERMANY, ACKNOWLEDGING GERMANY'S ASSURANCES.

(This was the final submarine note, closing the discussion. All now depended upon Germany.)

. . . Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government. . .

MAY 15, 1916—AUSTRIANS BEGIN STRONG OFFENSIVE AGAINST ITALIANS IN THE TRENTINO.

MAY 27, 1916—ADDRESS BEFORE THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, WASHINGTON.

(This address is prophetic of the statements of America's war aims, subsequently repeated many times, and now the Allied object of the war.)

We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

MAY 30, 1916—REMNANT OF SERBIAN ARMY JOINS ALLIES AT SALONIKI.

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MAY 31, 1916—GERMAN MAIN FLEET COMES OUT AND IS DEFEATED OFF JUTLAND, GIVING THE ALLIES UNCHALLENGED COMMAND OF THE SEA, SAVE FOR SUBMARINES.

JUNE 5, 1916—LORD KITCHENER LOST WITH CRUISER HAMPSHIRE.

JUNE 6, 1916—ITALIANS STOP AUSTRIANS IN TRENTINO.

JULY 1, 1916—GREAT ALLIED SOMME OFFENSIVE BEGINS.

JULY 9, 1916—SUBMARINE DEUTSCHLAND ARRIVES IN AMERICA ON ITS FIRST VOYAGE.

AUGUST 9, 1916—ITALIANS TAKE GORITZ.

AUGUST 28, 1916—ROUMANIA ENTERS THE WAR.

(One of the greatest tragedies of the war. Roumania, under pressure and promise from Russia and urged by the Allies, feeling that the tide had safely turned against Germany, took a fatal step. She was quickly crushed.)

SEPTEMBER 28, 1916—VENIZELOS, GREEK STATESMAN AND PROGRESSIVE, SWINGS GREECE INTO LINE WITH THE ALLIES.

OCTOBER 13, 1916—ITALIANS WIN VICTORY ON CARSO PLATEAU.

DECEMBER 12, 1916—GERMANY PROPOSES PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

(Germany felt that it would be a good time to end the war. She was in possession of Belgium and most of the Balkans, and held a slice of France. The Allied offensive on the Western front, the vigorous and brilliant French recovery at Verdun, and Italian activity against the Austrians had shown the High Command that, as affairs stood, they could not win by arms alone without a high cost. So an attempt was made to bring about a peace which would postpone the war until Germany could gather herself together to begin again. This was the first, but not the last, of the "Peace Offensives," as they have come to be called. Many times since then she has tried to pull victory out of the fire by psychological processes. In these attempts she has had plenty

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of assistance in enemy nations, some of it deliberate and sinister, but most of it the mistaken infatuation of pacifists, so called, and of the carelessly ignorant. This present attempt took the form of a suggestion that delegates from the belligerent countries meet at a neutral point and discuss possible terms of peace.)

INTERVENTION.

DECEMBER 18, 1916—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS A NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENTS ASKING THEM TO STATE TERMS "UPON WHICH THE WAR MIGHT BE CONCLUDED."

(President Wilson's prestige was at a low ebb, in Europe at least, after the sending of this note. The Allies resented a suggestion that they abandon the war while Germany was still unpunished and unrepentant. (Germany had just overrun Roumania and was holding firm in France and Belgium.) It was especially unfortunate, coming so closely after Germany's attempts to secure the spoils of outlawery by a premature and patched up peace. What was regarded as a suggestion in the note that the Allied war aims and purposes were no better than Germany's gave added offense. At home opinion was confused and divided. It is now believed by many that the note was sent because the administration realized that America was on the brink of war and the President did not wish it to be said afterward that he had neglected any step which might honorably have averted it. Germany, answering vaguely, proposed again a meeting of delegates. The Allies, replying through France, doubted whether the time had come when a peace of lasting benefit to Europe could be secured. The Allies' terms, however, were given in a broad way, involving restoration, reparation, rehabilitation and guarantees.)

"MUST THIS WAR PROCEED?"

A NOTE TO THE BELLIGERENTS ASKING FOR A DEFINITE STATEMENT OF PEACE TERMS.

(Abridged)

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the

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objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. *If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.*

THE OBJECTS HAVE NEVER BEEN STATED.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. *Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the*

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war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

COMMENTS ON PEACE NOTE.

Senator Weeks: "Ill-timed and unwise."

Senator Stone: "A very timely proffer. . . . It is the beginning of the end."

Prof. Ellery C. Stowell, New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung: "The President has chosen the psychological moment."

Von Bernstorff: "Now I am positive there will be a peace conference."

New York Tribune: "Now American influence for real peace, for just peace, is abolished."

New York World: "It cannot be ignored, and the powers must go further than any European statesmen have yet gone in defining the objects of the war and the terms of peace."

Tagliche Rundschau (Germany): "President Wilson is actuated by vanishing profits on the one hand and the fear of submarine warfare on the other hand."

Clemenceau in L'Homme Enchaîné: "The moral side of the war has escaped President Wilson. . . . He believes himself just when he speaks to all in the same terms."

Gustave Hervé in Victoire: "President Wilson has delivered us full in the chest the greatest blow, the most dangerous since Charleroi."

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London Observer: "A memorable mistake has been made at the White House. That mistake jeopardizes all the beneficent possibilities of the role which might have been and may still be reserved for the American President at a later stage."

L'Intransigeant: "This act will disarrange the sly maneuver our adversary is seeking to accomplish at this time. . . . He will not be able to escape the request of the American question."

Montreal Star: "He has failed to see the moral issue."

Toronto Globe: "The prevalent tone of the European press is one of polite ridicule."

DECEMBER 19, 1916—LLOYD GEORGE MAKES FIRST SPEECH AS NEW PREMIER.

(He repudiated the German peace proposals, asserting England was making war with its new cabinet, not peace.)

JANUARY 6-7, 1917—ALLIED WAR CONFERENCE AT ROME.

JANUARY 10, 1917—FRANCE REPLIES, FOR THE ALLIES, TO PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE.

JANUARY 18, 1917—ENGLAND REPLIES, THROUGH ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, FOREIGN SECRETARY.

(Mr. Balfour's reply, supplemental to that of France, suggested a league of nations to prevent hostilities in the future.)

JANUARY 22, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS ON TERMS OF PEACE.

(President Wilson announced to the world a basis for peace—and the only basis—upon which the United States could join with other nations to take part in keeping the world henceforth at peace. It was the first statement of the principles which are now accepted as the basis of the Allied Peace Platform. This address was cordially received everywhere. It did much to clarify and express Allied thinking upon the war, and to prepare American thought for what must now have seemed inevitable in the near future—our entrance into the war; although many politicians and journalists called it a Eutopian dream, and many felt it was another case of impudent intrusion. This was the famous "Peace without Victory" address—a phrase angrily misunderstood at the time. On the whole, the address reinstated President Wilson in European regard, and proved the first step toward that impersonal and disinterested world leadership which is now accorded him.)

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"A PEACE WORTH PRESERVING."

ADDRESS TO THE SENATE ON ESSENTIAL TERMS OF PEACE IN EUROPE.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the Senate:

On the eighteenth of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. *In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.*

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

AMERICA'S PART IN PEACE.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the

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way to liberty. They cannot in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

NO NATION MAY CAST DOWN PEACE

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between belligerents will not satisfy even

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the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

"PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY."

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am only seeking to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

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The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for the equipoises of power.

A DEMOCRATIC PEACE.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. *No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.*

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. *Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will be inevitably upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.*

SOME ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF PEACE.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers

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should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the coöperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I SPEAK FOR ALL FRIENDS OF HUMANITY.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is

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at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE OF THE WORLD.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power; catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

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These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

COMMENTS ON ADDRESS ON ESSENTIAL PEACE TERMS.

New York Times: "By one bold stroke President Wilson removes the obstacles to world peace guaranteed by the world."

New York World: "Our own belief is that President Wilson has enunciated the broad principles of liberty and justice upon which alone a durable peace is possible."

Washington Post: "It constitutes a shining ideal, seemingly unattainable when passions rule the world, but embodying, nevertheless, the hopes of nations, large and small."

Cleveland Plain Dealer: "President Wilson has already exerted a great influence promotive of peace. His strongest card he played before the Senate Monday."

Philadelphia Public Ledger: "President Wilson's address to the Senate was inspired by lofty idealism, and voiced the aspiration of the whole world for a lasting peace, founded on justice and liberty."

Indianapolis Star: "Nobody knows whither this bold and puzzling step may lead."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "It is either a monumental mistake or an act that will fill a flaming page in history."

Toronto Globe: "President Wilson has not aided the cause of peace in Europe by intervention at this stage."

Providence Journal: "Mr. Wilson beckons the suffering nations of the world toward him with his schoolmaster's cane, and delivers a prize oration on the millennium, while the civilization and the liberty of the world are battling for life in the shambles of a hundred bloody fields."

New York Herald: "When President Wilson emerges from the dreamland of his fancy and essays to deal with the cold hard facts of a situation which finds great nations grappling for a righteous peace, he shows that a proper realization of the sentiments impelling those people to sacrifice their all for liberty has no more found its way into the secluded cloisters of the White House than has a real understanding of the sentiments of the American people."

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Boston Transcript: "He seems to have been forced by the flash of events to the solemn conclusion that he is the keeper of the conscience of the world not only, but also the exclusive if not the ordained moral spokesman of mankind."

London Times: The *Times* refers to "the high and daring character of his pacifist ideals together with the prudence and caution of his policy. . . ." It asserts that "his project is nothing less ambitious, less splendid than the establishment of a perpetual and universal reign of peace." Continuing it says: "The *Times* believes that President Wilson is the first statesman who has proposed as a practical policy what has been the 'dream of many thinkers for a great number of centuries.'"

London Chronicle: "The extreme elevation of the moral tone . . . will command the unqualified respect of those forward-looking, liberty-loving elements of all nations to which he frankly makes his appeals."

Manchester Guardian: "It is a splendid policy, nobly expressed. How will it be received? By people everywhere we cannot doubt joyfully and with clear perception . . . The mass of the nation will do well to see that their rulers render them every possible favor and support."

London Globe: "We must at your bidding lay down our arms and dream with you your foolish dream of peace."

L'Humanité: "The most incomparably splendid historic monument that has been given to the world since our immortal Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens."

L'Information: "It will find a profound echo in the soul of France."

Le Figaro: "His message will prove a violent shock to the horrible theory of Pan-Germanism."

Gustave Hervé in Victoire: "What a pity it is this masterly page of social philosophy is marred and almost disfigured by those three little words: 'Peace without victory.'"

Echo de Paris: "This declaration moves in the serene domain of theories."

Le Journal: "President Wilson is haunted with the fixed idea of inaugurating the golden age of universal brotherhood."

JANUARY 26, 1917—RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE ANNOUNCES THAT PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECH ON ESSENTIAL PEACE TERMS "HAS MADE A MOST FAVORABLE IMPRESSION UPON THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT."

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purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago,—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

FEBRUARY 17, 1917—FIRST WEEK'S SUBMARINE TOLL—58 VESSELS SUNK, OF WHICH 21 WERE NEUTRAL.

FEBRUARY 26, 1917—BRITISH ADVANCE IN ASIA-MINOR; CAPTURE KUT-EL-AMARA.

FEBRUARY 26, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS.

(This is known as The Armed Neutrality Address. President Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm merchant vessels. He had now given up hope of a change in Germany's U-boat policy. Americans, including women and children, had been lost in the ruthless warfare. Ambassador Gerard had been held as hostage in Berlin, but finally permitted to go to Switzerland. Meanwhile American shipping had stagnated because owners were unwilling to risk unarmed ships in the U-boat danger zone. This request for power to arm ships met with the resistance of "the little group of wilful men" in the Senate. All this time clamor for war grew. People were becoming impatient with the President's patience; while he evidently was carefully exhausting every possibility of averting war—not so much to escape it, as to make all the world see that, when it should come, it was inevitable.)

"WE MUST ARM OUR SHIPS."

ARMED NEUTRALITY ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE CONGRESS FEBRUARY 3, 1917.

(Abridged)

. . . it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they

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may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint rather than because of the instructions under which these commanders are acting. It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are in fact, and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can only come by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms,

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should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas.

THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY ARE AT STAKE.

✓ I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought, the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. *It is not of material interests merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the rights of life itself. I am thinking, not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at heart hesitating to defend these things.*

FEBRUARY 28, 1917—ASSOCIATED PRESS PUBLISHES VON ZIMMERMANN NOTE TO THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR IN MEXICO, PROPOSING THAT MEXICO AND JAPAN UNITE WITH GERMANY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, MEXICO TO BE REWARDED WITH NEW MEXICO, TEXAS AND ARIZONA.

MARCH 3, 1917—ALLIED SPRING OFFENSIVE BEGINS ON WESTERN FRONT WITH ADVANCE OF BRITISH NEAR BAPAUME.

MARCH 4, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON ISSUES A STATEMENT REBUKING CERTAIN SENATORS.

(A bill introduced in response to the President's address, giving him the authority he had requested to arm ships, was blocked in the Senate, and failed to get through before the session

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came to a close, March 3. President Wilson immediately called a special session, to convene, April 2, and issued a statement rebuking those who had opposed defensive measures.)

A little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

MARCH 4, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON INAUGURATED QUIETLY, THE DAY BEING SUNDAY.

(In his second inaugural, delivered the next day, President Wilson pointed out that the world-war was compelling the United States to take part in world affairs. . . . "We are provincials no longer. . . . Events . . . have made us citizens of the world"—and restated essential terms of peace and international comity.)

MARCH 10, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON ORDERS MERCHANT SHIPS TO ARM, FINDING SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY IN HIS GENERAL POWERS.

MARCH 11, 1917—RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BEGINS IN FOOD RIOTS.

MARCH 11, 1917—BRITISH CAPTURE BAGDAD.

MARCH 13, 1917—GERMAN LINES ON THE WESTERN FRONT BEGIN TO FEEL THE PRESSURE OF THE ALLIED SPRING OFFENSIVE, THE GERMANS RETIRING FROM WEST OF BAPAUME.

MARCH 15, 1917—CZAR NICHOLAS ABDICATES THE RUSSIAN THRONE.

MARCH 17, 1917—BRITISH CAPTURE BAPAUME; FRENCH TAKE ROYE AND LASSIGNY.

MARCH 18, 1917—GERMANS MAKE GREAT "STRATEGIC RETREAT," RETIRING ON 85-MILE FRONT, ABANDONING PERONNE, CHAULNES, NESLE AND NOYON. ALLIES ADVANCE LINE, ARRAS TO SOISSONS, TO DEPTH OF 12 MILES AND RETAKE 60 VILLAGES.

(This retreat was accompanied by a wanton, vicious destruction beyond comparison with anything in history.)

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THE TESTING TIME

APRIL 2, 1917—CONGRESS ASSEMBLES IN SPECIAL SESSION.

PARTICIPATION.

APRIL 2, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON MAKES HIS FAMOUS WAR ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.

(Congress had assembled on this day in special session called by the President. Fall elections had left the Democrats without a majority in the House, but independents gave them control. In the evening President Wilson unexpectedly appeared and quietly asked the Congress to declare Germany's course war against the United States. Hope was now abandoned. Germany stood revealed . . . This was Wilson's first war speech; the first of the long series of lucid, trenchant indictments of Germany, pitilessly just, which have united the thought and purpose of the nation and re-enforced the determination of the Allies to destroy autocracy. It was received with acclaim throughout the Allied world, both because of the entrance of a great and just neutral nation into war, and because of the high moral tone which Woodrow Wilson's statement gave to this entrance. This is the "Make the World Safe for Democracy" speech—a famous and unique battle-cry of nations.)

"THIS IS WAR."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR ADDRESS, DELIVERED TO THE CONGRESS
APRIL 2, 1917.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany

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within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. *The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.*

A WARFARE AGAINST MANKIND.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in

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pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

ARMED NEUTRALITY IS NOT ENOUGH.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot

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make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs: they cut to the very roots of human life.

LET US ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE TO WAR.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which

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would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

LET US MAKE OUR OBJECTS CLEAR.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. *Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their*

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governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. *Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.*

AUTOCRACY CANNOT BE TRUSTED.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character,

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or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naïve majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased, and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept a gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the Ger-

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man peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall cheerfully make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and fair play we profess to be fighting for.

AN IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT RUNNING AMUCK.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unequalled endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with

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their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

WE FIGHT TO FREE THE WORLD.

✓ It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and *we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.*

COMMENTS ON THE WAR ADDRESS.

New York Sun: "The voice of the Nation."

Theodore Roosevelt: "The President's message . . . will rank among the great state papers of which Americans in future will be proud."

President Poincaré to Wilson: "Eloquent interpreter of outraged right and menaced civilization."

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Lloyd George: "The glowing phrases of the President's noble deliverance illumine the horizon and make clearer than ever the goal we are striving to reach."

Wilfrid Laurier: "One of the most important contributions since Lincoln's time to the literature of freedom and democracy."

M. Ribot of France: "Gives the war its true character for the whole world to understand."

Chicago Evening Post: "Rarely has the soul of America been interpreted to America, rarely has it been translated into action with greater force, with finer statesmanship, with simpler nobility, than in this message of final American revolt against the natural foe of liberty."

Literary Digest: "Worked a miracle of crystallization and unification in American sentiment."

Figaro: "The whole world realizes the deeper meaning of the war of 1914."

Paris Matin: "The nobility and grandeur of this action are heightened by the sublimity and the simplicity with which this purpose is expressed by the illustrious head of this great democracy. If the world had the slightest doubt as to the profound meaning of the war the message of the President of the United States would forever dissipate all obscurity."

Petit Journal: "It brings a moral power greater than all these." (Credit, resources, fleet, etc.)

Journal: "A moral condemnation of Germany. It is her banishment from the ranks of the nations. . . ."

Petit Parisian: "Her recognized and positive disinterestedness accentuates and makes clear the character of the war."

Manchester Guardian: "Our greatest victory since the war began."

London Daily News: "An appeal as noble and as moving as any ever addressed to the sons of men; the authentic voice of humanity, stating the issue. We hard pressed nations . . . cannot but feel the moral uplifting and precious moral endorsement . . . of forces inspired by such an ideal. Because he has declared a new and indisputable gospel in the governance of men, President Wilson's speech has echoed in our hearts like no other utterance in these days."

London Evening Star: "It sounds the knell of autocracy."

Pall Mall Gazette: "A crusade more than worthy of its best traditions."

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London Times: "An event which is certain to influence their destinies on both sides of the Atlantic for generations to come."

"We doubt if in all history a great community has ever been summoned to war on grounds so largely ideal. . . ." "President Wilson proves his faith in the profound idealism of the American people."

Russekiya Ryetels: "The most important feature of the development in Washington is the profound moral significance of the entry of the United States into the war."

Cologne Volks Zeitung: "The gravest insult ever offered to Germany."

Frankfurter Zeitung: "President Wilson's artificial humanity."

Lokal Anzeiger: "Deed of a stubborn fanatic."

APRIL 4, 1917—SENATE ADOPTS WAR RESOLUTION.

APRIL 6, 1917—HOUSE ADOPTS WAR RESOLUTION.

APRIL 6, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON ISSUES WAR PROCLAMATION.

APRIL 16, 1917—THE PRESIDENT ISSUES A PROCLAMATION TO HIS FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN ON WAYS TO SERVE THE NATION DURING THE WAR.

(This appeal laid a foundation for other appeals, demands and exactions which were to come—food and fuel regulations, the selective draft, industrial control, Red Cross drives, etc. Not once has the American people whined or winced.)

"SPEAK, ACT AND SERVE TOGETHER."

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

(Complete)

My Fellow Countrymen:

The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an efficient war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the

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simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. *There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world.* To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice, it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting,—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting;

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are coöperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

THE GREAT SERVICE ARMY.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and women who devote their

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thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, Service Army,—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are coöperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure, rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual coöperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

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The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist the farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy and we shall not fall short of it!

SERVICE UNSELFISH AND SINCERE

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: *The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves.* I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service"; and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the

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feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a duty, a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

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MAY 4, 1917—U. S. DESTROYERS JOIN BRITISH NAVAL FORCES
IN WAR ZONE.

MAY 6, 1917—FRENCH WIN SUCCESS ON CHEMIN DES DAMES.

MAY 13, 1917—ITALIANS TAKE OFFENSIVE ON ISONZO FRONT.

(This was the offensive which finally threatened Trieste, and which was broken up only by a successful campaign of peace and defeatist propaganda among the Italian soldiers, carried on both from their front and rear, and followed by a sudden heavy attack in force by German and Austrian troops.)

MAY 17, 1917—KERENSKY BECOMES RUSSIAN MINISTER OF WAR.

MAY 18, 1917—SELECTIVE DRAFT ACT PASSED.

MAY 18, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON PROCLAIMS THE SELECTIVE
DRAFT.

(President Wilson had pressed for a draft for our armies as the most democratic means of raising one. This view was opposed by many who wanted at least a trial made of the volunteer plan.

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President Wilson's views finally prevailed. In his proclamation of the Draft Act, specifying the details of registration, the President makes clear the democratic doctrine of a universal service draft, emphasizing the idea of "selection." The people caught the spirit of the draft, supporting it not only with loyalty, but with an understanding so clear that it was deemed an honor, rather than a reproach, to be drafted.)

"LISTS OF HONOR"

THE DRAFT PROCLAMATION.

(Abridged)

The Power against which we are arrayed has sought to impose its will upon the world by force. To this end it has increased armament until it has changed the face of war. In the sense in which we have been wont to think of armies, there are no armies in this struggle, there are entire nations armed. Thus, the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is France than the men beneath the battle flags. It must be so with us. It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation.

ONE FRONT AGAINST A COMMON FOE.

To this end our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this cannot be if each man pursues a private purpose. All must pursue one purpose. A nation needs all men; but it needs each man, not in the field that will most please him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. Thus, though a sharpshooter pleases to operate a trip-hammer for the forging of great guns and an expert machinist desires to march with the flag, the nation is being served only when the sharpshooter marches and the machinist remains at his levers.

The whole nation must be a team, in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end, Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him.

A NATION VOLUNTEERS IN MASS.

The significance of this cannot be overstated. It is a new thing in our history and a landmark in our progress. It is a new manner of accepting and vitalizing our duty to give ourselves with thoughtful devotion to the common purpose of us all. *It is in no*

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sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass. It is no more a choosing of those who shall march with the colors than it is a selection of those who shall serve an equally necessary and devoted purpose in the industries that lie behind the battle line.

The day here named is the time upon which all shall present themselves for assignment to their tasks. It is for that reason destined to be remembered as one of the most conspicuous moments in our history. It is nothing less than the day upon which the manhood of the country shall step forward in one solid rank in defense of the ideals to which this nation is consecrated. It is important to those ideals no less than to the pride of this generation in manifesting its devotion to them, that there be no gaps in the ranks.

LISTS OF HONOR.

It is essential that the day be approached in thoughtful apprehension of its significance, and that we accord to it the honor and the meaning that it deserves. Our industrial need prescribes that it be not made a technical holiday, but the stern sacrifice that is before us urges that it be carried in all our hearts as a great day of patriotic devotion and obligation, when the duty shall lie upon every man, whether he is himself to be registered or not, to see to it that the name of every male person of the designated ages is written on these lists of honor.

MAY 26, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS A MESSAGE TO RUSSIA.

(Russia was in an uproar, bemused with liberty. Suspicious of all government, the people, now in control, were not too secure in their minds concerning the Allied purposes in the war. Partly to free them from their suspicions, partly to be of practical assistance, if possible, President Wilson sent a mission to Russia, headed by Elihu Root. The message, sent ahead of the mission, is here reprinted.)

“WE MUST NOT WEAKEN NOW.”

A MESSAGE TO RUSSIA.

(Complete)

In view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful

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consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the past few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat, those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

THE NET OF GERMAN INTRIGUE.

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being re-woven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the *status quo ante*. It was the *status quo ante* out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

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ALL PEOPLES MUST BE FREE.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. *No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payments for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.*

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out our blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous, but we cannot afford then or now to be weak or to omit any single guarantee of justice and security.

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JUNE 1, 1917—MORE DISORDER IN RUSSIA. SUSPICION OF ALLIED AIMS GROWS.

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JUNE 6, 1917—REGISTRATION DAY UNDER THE SELECTIVE DRAFT ACT.

(Nearly 10,000,000 men registered.)

JUNE 8, 1917—GENERAL PERSHING REACHES ENGLAND.

JUNE 12, 1917—ESPIONAGE BILL PASSED.

JUNE 13, 1917—GENERAL PERSHING REACHES FRANCE.

JUNE 14, 1917—FLAG DAY; PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS AN ADDRESS.

(President Wilson made Flag Day the occasion of an address to the American people and to the world which revealed, more definitely than any of its predecessors, the German threat upon civilization. In this address President Wilson spoke categorically of the German plan of world domination, and told how far they had already progressed in consummating the "Berlin to Bagdad" phase of their strangle-hold. The country had been at war barely a month. This address helped to consolidate sentiment and spur endeavor. It is considered by many his finest effort from a literary point of view.)

"A NEW GLORY FOR OUR FLAG."

THE FLAG DAY ADDRESS DELIVERED AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 14, 1917.

(Complete)

My Fellow Citizens:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of

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our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

GERMANY FORCED US TO WAR.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own people from their allegiance—and some of those agents were men connected with the official Embassy of the Germany Government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

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But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

GERMANY PLOTTED TO MASTER THE WORLD.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller states, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Servia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

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"BERLIN TO BAGDAD."

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Servia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Servia is at its mercy, should its hands be for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

THEY SEEK A PEACE TO PRESERVE THEIR SPOILS.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative,

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but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point Fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it: an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

BEWARE OF SUCH A PEACE!

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who

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throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or coöperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

NO PEACE UNTIL THE WORLD IS FREE.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised loyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a People's War, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German peoples themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary

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choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

JUNE 20, 1917—ITALIANS EXTEND THEIR OFFENSIVE TO THE
TRENTINO.

JUNE 25, 1917—ANOTHER GERMAN PEACE OFFENSIVE BEGINS.

JUNE 27, 1917—BRITISH HOUSE OF LORDS ENDORSES LEAGUE-
OF-NATIONS IDEA.

JUNE 30, 1917—IT BECOMES KNOWN THAT U. S. TROOPS HAVE
BEEN ARRIVING SAFELY IN FRANCE DURING THE MONTH.

JULY 1, 1917—RUSSIAN ARMY LED BY KERENSKY BEGINS OF-
FENSIVE.

JULY 11, 1917—THE PRESIDENT APPEALS TO BUSINESS MEN.

(The purpose of this speech was to lift up the thoughts of business men toward their part of the work in hand. It was clearly seen that the entire nation must be organized for victory. The fixing of prices had been determined upon, as a war measure. This speech asked the coöperation of business men in such a step. Business men had already been called to Washington in advisory capacities from all over the country; many of them of the first prominence in commercial and industrial affairs. It is doubtful whether any other war had been so free from a tendency to predatory activities on the part of those in a position to take selfish advantage of circumstances, or whether public opinion had ever been more intolerant of profiteering.)

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"WE MUST LEAVE SELFISHNESS OUT."

AN APPEAL TO BUSINESS MEN.

(Complete)

My Fellow-Countrymen:

The Government is about to attempt to determine the prices at which it will ask you henceforth to furnish various supplies which are necessary for the prosecution of the war, and various materials which will be needed in the industries by which the war must be sustained.

We shall, of course, try to determine them justly and to the best advantage of the nation as a whole. But justice is easier to speak of than to arrive at and there are some considerations which I hope we shall keep steadily in mind while this particular problem of justice is being worked out.

I therefore take the liberty of stating very candidly my own view of the situation and of the principles which should guide both the Government and the mine-owners and manufacturers of the country in this difficult matter.

JUST PRICES AND PROFITS.

A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansions of their enterprises which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop.

We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry; and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have in hand.

But I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism has nothing to do with profits in a case like this. Patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances to be mentioned together.

It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business, with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical months, when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself trembles in the balance, but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country.

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PATRIOTISM LEAVES PROFITS OUT.

Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them and sustain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor.

No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives, will he not at least give his money?

I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay very liberal and unusual profits in order to "stimulate production," that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—rewards paid in money, not in the mere liberation of the world.

I take it for granted that those who argue thus do not stop to think what that means. Do they mean that you must be paid, must be bribed, to make your contribution, a contribution that costs you neither a drop of blood, nor a tear, when the whole world is in travail and men everywhere depend upon and call to you to bring them out of bondage and make the world a fit place to live in again amidst peace and justice?

WHO WILL DRIVE BARGAINS NOW?

Do they mean that you will exact a price, drive a bargain, with the men who are enduring the agony of this war on the battlefield, in the trenches, amid the lurking dangers of the sea, or with the bereaved women and pitiful children, before you will come forward to do your duty and give some part of your life, in easy, peaceful fashion, for the things we are fighting for, the things we have pledged our fortunes, our lives, our sacred honor, to vindicate and defend—liberty and justice and fair dealing and the peace of nations?

Of course you will not. It is inconceivable. Your patriotism is of the same self-denying stuff as the patriotism of the men dead or maimed on the fields of France, or else it is no patriotism at all. Let us never speak, then, of profits and of patriotism in the same sentence, but face facts and meet them. Let us do sound business, but not in the midst of a mist.

Many a grievous burden of taxation will be laid on this Nation, in this generation and in the next, to pay for this war;

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let us see to it that for every dollar that is taken from the people's pockets it shall be possible to obtain a dollar's worth of the sound stuffs they need.

SELFISHNESS HELPS GERMANY.

Let us for a moment turn to the ship-owners of the United States and the other ocean carriers whose example they have followed, and ask them if they realize what obstacles, what almost insuperable obstacles, they have been putting in the way of the successful prosecution of this war by the ocean freights they have been exacting.

They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible. I do not say that they realize this or intend it.

The thing has happened naturally enough, because the commercial processes which we are content to see operate in ordinary times have without sufficient thought been continued into a period where they have no proper place. I am not questioning motives. I am merely stating a fact, and stating it in order that attention may be fixed upon it.

The fact is that those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany. When they realize this we may, I take it for granted, count upon them to reconsider the whole matter. It is high time. Their extra hazards are covered by war-risk insurance.

THE NATION EXPECTS YOUR ASSISTANCE.

I know, and you know, what response to this great challenge of duty and of opportunity the Nation will expect of you; and I know what response you will make. Those who do not respond, who do not respond in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away, may safely be left to be dealt with by opinion and the law—for the law must, of course, command those things.

I am dealing with the matter thus publicly and frankly, not because I have any doubt or fear as to the result, but only in order that, in all our thinking and in all our dealings with one another we may move in a perfectly clear air of mutual understanding.

And there is something more that we must add to our thinking. The public is now as much part of the Government as the Army and Navy themselves. The whole people, in all their activities, are now mobilized and in service for the accomplish-

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ment of the Nation's task in this war. It is in such circumstances impossible justly to distinguish between industrial purchases made by the Government and industries. And it is just as much our duty to sustain the industries of the country, all the industries that contribute to its life, as it is to sustain our forces in the field and on the sea. We must make the prices to the public the same as the prices to the Government.

PRICES ARE VITAL NOW.

Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or the inefficiency of the Nation, whether it is the Government that pays them or not. They mean victory or defeat. They mean that America will win her place once for all among the foremost free Nations of the world, or that she will sink to defeat and become a second-rate Power alike in thought and action. This is a day for her reckoning, and every man among us must personally face that reckoning along with her.

The case needs no arguing. I assume that I am only expressing your own thoughts—what must be in the mind of every true man when he faces the tragedy and the solemn glory of the present war, for the emancipation of mankind. I summon you to a great duty, a great privilege, a shining dignity and distinction.

I shall expect every man who is not a slacker to be at my side throughout this great enterprise. In it no man can win honor who thinks of himself.

JULY 12, 1917—RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST LEMBERG, LEAD BY KERENSKY IN PERSON, PROGRESSES.

JULY 19, 1917—REICHSTAG ADOPTS PEACE RESOLUTIONS.

(These resolutions expressed the desire of the German people for a peace of lasting conciliation without forced acquisition of territory—"no annexation, no indemnities." German diplomats contrived to have this cry taken up later by the Bolsheviki, and certain pacifists also adopted it.)

JULY 19, 1917—RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE SLACKS UP IN DISORDER.

JULY 20, 1917—KERENSKY MADE RUSSIAN PREMIER.

JULY 22, 1917—RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE BREAKS DOWN THROUGH LACK OF DISCIPLINE AND MUTINY SPREADS AMONGST THE TROOPS.

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JULY 24, 1917—EDWARD N. HURLEY PUT IN CHARGE OF SHIP-BUILDING.

JULY 29, 1917—GERMANY IN ANOTHER PEACE OFFENSIVE.

(Dr. Michaelis, German Chancellor, seizing upon the Reichstag peace resolutions of "no annexations, no indemnities," maintained that the refusal of the Allies to accept this formula at once as a basis for peace negotiations convicted them of hypocrisy and proved that they had not renounced conquest as their object in war. Count Czernin, Austrian Foreign Minister, contended that peace would be reached by negotiation sooner or later, and that any delay in bringing the war to an end was therefor due to England's determination to destroy the Central Powers.)

JULY 31, 1917—FRENCH AND BRITISH SMASH THE GERMAN LINES IN BELGIUM ON A FRONT OF 25 MILES, FROM DIXMUDE TO WARNETON.

AUGUST 8, 1917—FOOD CONTROL BILL PASSES.

AUGUST 10, 1917—PRESIDENT GIVES MR. HOOVER CONTROL OF FOOD.

AUGUST 15, 1917—THE POPE SENDS A PEACE NOTE TO ALL BELLIGERENTS.

(In his appeal to belligerents, the Pope suggested disarmament, withdrawal from occupied territories, restitution of German colonies, settlement of territorial and political questions in a conciliatory spirit, and a general condonation.)

AUGUST 23, 1917—RUSSIANS EVACUATE RIGA.

AUGUST 23, 1917—CANADIANS ADVANCE SOUTH OF LENS.

AUGUST 27, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON REPLIES TO THE POPE'S PEACE PROPOSALS.

(The proposal for peace negotiations, coming from such a quarter, proved embarrassing to the Allies. The burden of replying was left to President Wilson. His answer to the suggestion, though courteous and respectful, left little unsaid that bore upon the question of destroying the power for evil existing in German autocracy. His reference to "selfish and exclusive economic leagues" was construed as a repudiation of an understanding reached by

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France and England, at the Paris Conference, concerning an economic war to be waged on Germany after the conclusion of hostilities, and lead to a retirement from that plan. America and Allied Europe rallied behind the calm, firm, forceful assertion of principle contained in the reply, which proved final to the peace suggestion.)

"PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE NOW."

THE REPLY TO THE POPE.

(Complete)

To His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts, and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the status quo ante-bellum and that there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

WE DEAL WITH A SECRET AND SINISTER POWER.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the status quo ante furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without

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regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world.

Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

PEACE MUST REST ON RIGHTS.

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

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The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

GERMANY'S RULERS CANNOT BE TRUSTED.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no, man, no nation, could now depend on.

We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State of the United States of America.

COMMENTS ON THE REPLY TO THE POPE.

London Daily Mail: "President Wilson's reply has the spirit and point of view the world has learned during the last six months to look for in all his utterances on the war."

London Times: "The answer of a practical statesman to the peace dreams of the Vatican."

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Daily Telegraph: "It comes like an invigorating wind to blow away the cobwebs which pacifism and its dupes have been spinning about the central things in this great quarrel."

Morning Post: "Reveals a man who has his eye fixed on realities and his mind resolved unflinchingly on a great purpose. At the end of three years of unspeakable strain and anxiety it is an inestimable service to the Allies to find such leadership as this—strong, clear-sighted, inflexible—inspiring new courage and faith, shaming the faint-hearted and silencing the disaffected."

New York World: "That President Wilson . . . spoke for all the Allied Governments admits of no doubt, but what is more important—he spoke for the people of all the Allied Governments."

New York Post: "In his outline of peace terms, Mr. Wilson takes the lead."

New York Globe: "President Wilson . . . has satisfied the conscience of the world that stands steadfast for war until real peace is possible."

New York Tribune: "The final word of western civilization to that system of barbarism which dominates and controls the German Empire. . . Mr. Wilson has demolished every edifice of peace founded upon the idea of preserving any portion of the German purpose and the German idea."

Evening Standard: "Mr. Wilson puts into plain English what our statesmen clothe in roundabout and unimpressive language."

Philadelphia Enquirer: "It ought to clear the atmosphere not only in the United States but in Europe."

New York Herald: "In language that will ring round the world . . . speaking for the people of all nations."

Boston Post: "He shows in his most crystalline and effective fashion how futile and evanescent any peace would be backed only by the faith of the Hohenzollerns."

AUGUST 30, 1917—FRENCH BREAK GERMAN LINES NORTH OF VERDUN, ON A FRONT OF 11 MILES.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS A MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL ARMY.

(The first group (687,000) of the army selected by lot from the 10,000,000 registered June 5th, began to move toward their training stations two days later. The care taken of the army, and the high mental tone of the soldiers, are new in warfare.)

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A MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL ARMY.

To the Soldiers of the National Army:

You are undertaking a great duty. The heart of the whole country is with you.

Everything that you do will be watched with the deepest interest and with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who are near and dear to you, but the whole nation besides. For this great war draws us all together; makes us all comrades and brothers, as all true Americans felt themselves to be when we first made good our national independence.

The eyes of all the world will be on you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are, but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through.

Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to it, and then let us live up to it and add a new laurel to the crown of America.

My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test. God keep and guide you! WOODROW WILSON.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1917—SECRETARY LANSING EXPOSES COUNT LUXBURG.

(Count Luxburg, German Minister at the Argentine, had used the Swedish Foreign Office to advise his Government about sinking Argentine ships. He recommended that they be sunk without trace—"spurlos versenkt." This "spurlos versenkt" note, among others, fell into the State Department's hands and was published, creating a new disgust with German methods.)

SEPTEMBER 8, 1917—ENGLAND ADOPTS PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO THE POPE.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1917—THE PRESIDENT APPOINTS A PERSONAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE LABOR RESTLESSNESS AND REPORT.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1917—RUSSIA PROCLAIMED A REPUBLIC.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1917—STATE DEPARTMENT EXPOSES VON BERNSTORFF, FORMER GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U. S.

(A letter was made public showing that von Bernstorff intended and expected to corrupt Congress in favor of Germany,

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and had a fund on hand for that purpose. These, and similar fruits of the United States Secret Service activities, were released from time to time in answer to gestures of virtue and injured innocence being made in Germany.)

OCTOBER 9, 1917—BRITISH TAKE POELCAPELLE.

OCTOBER 16, 1917—100,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS REPORTED SAFE IN FRANCE.

OCTOBER 23, 1917—FRENCH, IN A SMASH, TAKE MALMAISON FORT, ON THE AISNE.

OCTOBER 29, 1917—ITALIAN DEBACLE ON ISONZO FRONT.

(This was traced definitely to German and other propaganda.)

OCTOBER 30, 1917—VON HERTLING SUCCEEDS DR. MICHAELIS AS GERMAN CHANCELLOR.

(Each change in this office brought added political power to the Junkers, the Pan-German Prussian militarists, intent on carrying through their first grim plans of conquest and exploitation.)

NOVEMBER 1, 1917—BRITISH AND FRENCH REINFORCEMENTS REACH ITALIAN LINES.

NOVEMBER 1, 1917—BRITISH TAKE BEERSHEBA.

NOVEMBER 1, 1917—KERENSKY GROWS IMPATIENT WITH ALLIES.

(Kerensky, with his hands full of Russian troubles, was trying to get the Allies to make a definite statement of war aims which would quiet the suspicion of the seething Russian masses concerning their Allies. This the Allies were reluctant to do, because of the existence of understandings amongst themselves which collided with the Russian formula of "no annexations, no indemnities"—and in a sense with President Wilson's announced platform for Allied Peace.)

NOVEMBER 3, 1917—FIRST FIGHT OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE.

NOVEMBER 6, 1917—CANADIANS TAKE PASSCHENDAELE.

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NOVEMBER 7, 1917—THE PRESIDENT ISSUES THE ANNUAL
THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

THE THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

It has long been the honored custom of our people to turn in the fruitful autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. That custom we can follow now even in the midst of the tragedy of a world shaken by war and immeasurable disaster, in the midst of sorrow and great peril, because even amidst the darkness that has gathered about us we can see the great blessings God has bestowed upon us, blessings that are better than mere peace of mind and prosperity of enterprise.

We have been given the opportunity to serve mankind as we once served ourselves in the great day of our Declaration of Independence, by taking up arms against a tyranny that threatened to master and debase men everywhere and joining with other free peoples in demanding for all the nations of the world what we then demanded and obtained for ourselves. In this day of the revelation of our duty not only to defend our own rights as a nation but to defend also the rights of free men throughout the world, there has been vouchsafed us in full and inspiring measure the resolution and spirit of united action. We have been brought to one mind and purpose. A new vigor of common counsel and common action has been revealed in us. We should especially thank God that in such circumstances, in the midst of the greatest enterprise the spirits of men have ever entered upon, we have, if we but observe a reasonable and practicable economy, abundance with which to supply the needs of those associated with us as well as our own. A new light shines about us. The great duties of a new day awaken a new and greater national spirit in us. We shall never again be divided or wonder what stuff we are made of.

And while we render thanks for these things let us pray Almighty God that in all humbleness of spirit we may look always to Him for guidance; that we may be kept constant in the spirit and purpose of service; that by His grace our minds may be directed and our hands strengthened; and that in His good time liberty and security and peace and the comradeship of a common justice may be vouchsafed all the nations of the earth.

Wherefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, the twenty-ninth day of November next, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and invite the people throughout the land to cease upon that day from their ordinary occupations and in their several homes and

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places of worship to render thanks to God, the great ruler of all nations.

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NOVEMBER 7, 1917—AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS, WITH COLONEL HOUSE, REACH ENGLAND FOR ALLIED WAR CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

NOVEMBER 7, 1917—BOLSHEVIKI GAINING CONTROL OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS IN PETROGRAD.

(Trotsky and Lenine, "internationals," one of them helped back to Russia by Germany herself, beguiled the earnest, naïve Russians with a cry of immediate peace and free land. Their leadership was accepted by the Bolsheviki—the "maximalists," or those asking the maximum in the way of radical reforms.)

NOVEMBER 9, 1917—BOLSHEVIKI WIN MOSCOW. KERENSKY TOTTERING, AND RUSSIA MOVING SWIFTLY TOWARD ANARCHY IN GOVERNMENT.

(How much of this breakdown of order was due to the propaganda of German agents, and how much to ingenuous enthusiasms among a simple people newly free, can never be fully known. Many students of statesmanship believe that a little more frankness and patience on the part of the Allies, and an earlier blowing away of the mists that were hanging over Allied war aims, would have saved Russia from what seemed to the Allied people at the time an ungrateful, treacherous betrayal, deserving to be permitted to punish itself. This view came to be held in the press to some extent. President Wilson subsequently appears not to have lost hope at any time, and not to have completely lost the confidence of the Russian people.)

NOVEMBER 10, 1917—ITALIANS, STIFFENED BY FRENCH AND ENGLISH TROOPS, STAND ON THE PIAVE, SAVING VENICE.

NOVEMBER 10, 1917—LENINE AND TROTZKY, BOLSHEVIKI, BECOME SUPREME IN RUSSIA.

NOVEMBER 12, 1917—LLOYD GEORGE DEMANDS ALLIED UNITY IN POLICY, PROGRAM, PLAN AND EXECUTION.

NOVEMBER 12, 1917—PRESIDENT WILSON GOES TO BUFFALO AND ADDRESSES THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

(President Wilson had recognized Labor from the first. Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation of Labor, was working closely with him on labor problems involved in organizing

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the nation for war. In this address President Wilson points out the just obligations and duties of labor, as well as its rights and privileges. He showed labor its own interest in winning the war by drawing a picture of the German idea and its effect upon every form of freedom.)

"LABOR MUST BE FREE."

AN ADDRESS TO THE FEDERATION OF LABOR AT BUFFALO.

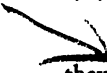
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Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public counsels. When your executive committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this, above all other times in our history, is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the Nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel; the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known; *a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind.* I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view *this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.*

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to

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be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label “Made in Germany” was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had a “place in the sun.”

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands, to direct it and, when necessity arose, control it; and you have only to ask why any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturer and exporters used under the patronage and support of the Government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves they could get a subsidy from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German Government itself.

PLANS FOR WORLD MASTERY.

But that did not satisfy the German Government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the

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future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany in thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan States, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she can keep all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German Government continue to control it. *I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of the Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free people if it is used by free people.*

You know how many intimations come to us from one of the central powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief central power, and you know that it means that the people in that central power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

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THE WAY TO PEACE: WAR!

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? *Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not.*

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Col. House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

NO ONE MUST INTERRUPT.

While we are fighting for freedom we must see among other things, that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in con-

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ferring from time to time with your president, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesman-like sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: *Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted.* And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same, and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I have not had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of the past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said: "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you knew so-and-so." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I-I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in, but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics, I would love to be with them.

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WE MUST SHOW THAT WE CAN GOVERN OURSELVES

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to coöperate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands; and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purposes as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice; and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to coöperate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to coöperate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant

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markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on. I mean now on the part of employers, and we must interject into this some instrumentality of coöperation by which the fair thing will be done all around. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

"I AM WITH YOU IF YOU ARE WITH ME."

So, my fellow citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. ~~There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about.~~ I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all, but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

COMMENTS ON THE LABOR ADDRESS.

New York World: "Again has the President proved himself the great spokesman and interpreter of modern democracy."

Labor Union Record, Seattle: "If the President can bring the other fellow the rest of the way, he can count on our united support."

Duluth Labor World: "Organized labor will go the limit to prevent strikes. Union men know the priceless value of liberty. . . . It is a crime akin to treason to call a strike at this crucial hour, without giving the Government an opportunity to adjust the grievances complained of by conciliation."

National Labor Journal: "The roadbed is rough, but labor trusts the engineer."

NOVEMBER 14, 1917—PREMIER KERENSKY A FUGITIVE FROM THE BOLSHEVIKI.

(Russian reign of terror in the name of democracy, began under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky.)

NOVEMBER 15, 1917—CLEMENCEAU, "THE TIGER," BECOMES PREMIER OF FRANCE.

(He had been bitterly assailing the government for its conduct of the war, and especially for its failure to root out and destroy

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"defeatism" and treason, which had been widely exposed. Men then prominent in French affairs have since been brought to trial. Some of them have been executed, some banished. These things show the subtle currents and treacherous undertows against which Allied leaders and statesmen have had to guard themselves and their people from the first; secret and sinister workings of evil perverting many ignorant victims. Clemenceau, taking hold of France, flung her into the conflict with new vigor, new enthusiasm, new courage and determination, and soon cleaned out the worst nests.)

NOVEMBER 20, 1917—SUCCESSFUL BRITISH ATTACK AT CAMBRIA; FIRST EXTENSIVE USE OF "TANKS."

NOVEMBER 23, 1917—RUSSIANS BEGIN DEMOBILIZING THE ARMY.

NOVEMBER 28, 1917—TROTSKY BEGINS PUBLISHING SECRET TREATIES FROM RUSSIAN ARCHIVES.

NOVEMBER 30, 1917—GERMANS NEUTRALIZE CAMBRAI VICTORY.

NOVEMBER 30, 1917—"RAINBOW DIVISION," FIRST UNITED STATES NATIONAL GUARD CONTINGENT, ARRIVES SAFELY IN FRANCE.

DECEMBER 2, 1917—RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKI, UNDER TROTSKY AND LENINE, OPEN TRUCE NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMANY.

DECEMBER 4, 1917—CONGRESS MEETS; PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS HIS ANNUAL MESSAGE.

(By this time President Wilson was generally regarded as the leader of the world's war-thoughts and peace principles, as press clippings show. This address is another ringing call for all the resources of the nation to help put down this frightful thing that was destroying the world. Germany must be left without further power for harm, or denied intercourse with the nations. All peoples, including her present vassals, must be freed from Prussian military and commercial autocracy, but without interference in their internal affairs. President Wilson asked for a declaration of a State of War with Austria. Congress soon passed such a resolution.)

WOODROW WILSON AND THE WAR

"WIN THE WAR!"

ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 4, 1917.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to retail or even to summarize those events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

WHEN IS THE WAR WON?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a Nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. *I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the Nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speak for the Nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.*

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the

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war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. *They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose.* They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

GERMAN POWER MUST BE CRUSHED.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as *the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations;* and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. *They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or peoples shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong.* It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray—and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace

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might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson, and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can Right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

A PEACE OF DELIVERANCE.


Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise, we did not grudge or oppose, but admired, rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no

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longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated. The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

NO INTERNAL MEDDLING

 We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the people of the Balkan peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own—from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

 The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes

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of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments. It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

NO RETALIATING WRONGS.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That of course. But they cannot and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. *The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life. German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with those tides.*

TRUTH MUST BE UTTERED; RIGHT MUST BE DONE.

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real

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and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided. The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea, but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways, I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of right can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

DECLARE A STATE OF WAR WITH AUSTRIA.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is, in fact, the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business. The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own

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initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

OTHER THINGS TO DO.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the presidential proclamation relating to alien enemies promulgated under section 4067 of the Revised Statutes and providing appropriate punishment; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to work as other criminals do.

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequities obtain on all sides.

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It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country, and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government, should be immediately resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of coöperation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress again adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of the Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous, rapid, and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

NO SELFISH AMBITION IN WAR.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. *The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and knightly*

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honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us. A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to clear heights of His own justice and mercy.

COMMENTS, FIFTH ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 4, 1917.

Theodore Roosevelt: "The heart of the American people will answer a devout 'Amen!'"

New York Evening Post: "The Allies are content to acquiesce in the President's intellectual and moral leadership."

Washington Herald: "The President answered the people . . . he has paused long enough to give thought to just those things which have bothered you and me."

Chicago Herald: "His central thought was of the larger, the international, the more permanent aspects of the war."

Philadelphia Public Ledger: "It is one of the most notable state papers in our generation."

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Louisville Courier-Journal: "As President Wilson stood before Congress he voiced the calm, indomitable power of the nation in words and in a spirit which finds an invincible response in every American heart and in every democratic brain throughout all the world that has called a halt on Kaiserdom. Truly, this man seems to have been raised up to lead us in this supreme crisis."

St. Louis Republic: "Sweeps away all the sophistries of the professional peacemaker."

Cleveland Plain Dealer: "Emphasizes anew his character as an international leader."

The Christian Science Monitor: "The President's message to Congress is one of those sane, statesmanlike and serene pronouncements which not only the United States, but the whole body of the Allies, have come to look to him for."

Boston Globe: "The people of the Entente countries will recognize the spokesman of their aspirations and exert great pressure on any reluctant leaders."

Boston Post: "The war will be ended the sooner by reason of it."

Boston Advertiser: "Peace terms on which the American people will stand pat. They fulfill the expectations of liberals the world over."

New York World: "A ringing note of leadership to all the nations. . . . A great war message and a great peace message."

London Daily Mail: "Whenever he speaks it is as though America, with its 100,000,000 people, blew a blast on a single trumpet."

London Evening Standard: "We have always thought that a great opportunity was missed by the European Allies when they failed to adopt heartily and without qualification the high aims set forth by the President, which will appeal to the best elements in every country and may possibly evoke some response even in Germany. If the Wilson policy had been accepted as that of all the Allies and blazoned forth in a joint declaration, there would have been less chance of that audacious and mendacious misrepresentation of which we see the vast results in Russia. The frank acceptance of the principles enunciated by all the governments and the peoples warring against Germany would contribute largely to their success in arms."

London Daily News: "If the President could have said earlier what he said today, and if in Britain and France and Italy the responsible leaders of these nations had made his language their own, Russia might today be driving the German armies from her

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borders. . . . Another example of comprehension by which he clarified fundamental issues of the war. . . . It would be affectation to pretend that the speech echoes the declaration of Allied statesmen. His vision comprehends the world; theirs only half."

London Times: "President Wilson has restated the Allies' purpose with uncompromising force."

London Globe: "President Wilson's addresses come as a purifying breeze from the new world to the old."

Pall Mall Gazette: "The most direct appeal to a practical handling of the muddle of the eastern question yet made by any Allied statesman."

DECEMBER 10, 1917—BRITISH CAPTURE JERUSALEM.

DECEMBER 14, 1917—LLOYD GEORGE ENDORSES PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.

DECEMBER 16, 1917—BOLSHEVIKI SIGN TRUCE OF 28 DAYS WITH GERMANY.

DECEMBER 18, 1917—PROHIBITION AMENDMENT PASSES CONGRESS AND GOES TO THE STATES FOR RATIFICATION.

DECEMBER 20, 1917—LLOYD GEORGE STATES BRITISH PEACE TERMS IN HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DECEMBER 23, 1917—GERMANY AND RUSSIA OPEN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT BREST-LITOVSK.

DECEMBER 23, 1917—BETHLEHEM CAPTURED BY BRITISH.

DECEMBER 25, 1917—ANOTHER GERMAN PEACE OFFENSIVE, LAUNCHED FROM BREST-LITOVSK.

(Germany, counting upon war-weariness amongst the Allied people, and knowing that the suggestions of peace had crept abroad through numerous channels from Brest-Litovsk, considered the time propitious for another attempt to gain by psychology what she had not been able to gain by arms. Her political spokesmen proposed, therefore, for all of Russia's allies, a peace without annexation or indemnity, and restoration of political independence to all nations suffering the loss of it through the war. Germany meanwhile had been busy at the conference making everything ready to despoil Russia of vast territory. The German device

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for doing this was typical. Picking out figureheads as ostensible representatives of various Russian provinces, she insolently and cynically asserted upon the authority of these dummy representatives that such provinces desired autonomy from Russia, under German protection, and that they were entitled to it under the Wilson doctrine of self-determination, or the right of every people to determine for themselves how they should be ruled!)

DECEMBER 25, 1917—ANOTHER GERMAN PEACE OFFENSIVE
LAUNCHED FROM BREST-LITOVSK.

DECEMBER 26, 1917—THE GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER THE
RAILROADS.

(President Wilson proclaimed all railroads under Government control, with William G. McAdoo as Director-General.)

JANUARY 3, 1918—GERMAN DEMANDS OBSTRUCT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BOLSHEVIKI.

JANUARY 3, 1918—GERMANY BREAKS TRUCE AGREEMENT BY
REFUSING TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM RUSSIAN SOIL.

JANUARY 5, 1918—LLOYD GEORGE RESTATES BRITISH WAR AIMS.

(This was England's counter to the latest peace offensive. The British Premier insisted upon restoration and reparation, but denied an intention of destroying the Central Empires as political states.)

JANUARY 8, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON RESTATES WAR AIMS.

(This was President Wilson's answer to the Brest-Litovsk peace offensive. Germany had again shown her intriguing, hypocritical duplicity in the negotiations for a separate peace with Russia. President Wilson found in the situation another occasion offering an opportunity to announce to the world, in terms not to be misinterpreted or misunderstood, the Allied war aims. Three days before, Lloyd George had made a similar announcement, less definite and lucid, but so much to the same purpose that no suggestion of a lack of unity could creep in. In this speech President Wilson lays down categorically a definite peace platform of 14 planks.)

WOODROW WILSON AND THE WAR

"A PLATFORM OF WORLD PEACE."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, STATING THE WAR
AIMS AND PEACE TERMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

WHOSE WAS THE GERMAN VOICE WE HEARD?

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the

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affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

GERMANY CHALLENGES US TO STATE OUR AIMS.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

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THE VOICE OF RUSSIA CALLS.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

HERE IS WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world made secure once for all against their recurrence.

What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation.

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which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.^a

All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single

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act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

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For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove.

A PROGRAM BASED ON PRINCIPLE.

We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing.

We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purposes, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

COMMENTS ON THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PLATFORM.

Theodore Roosevelt: "A reassertion of our duty—to stand with the Allies to the end and fight until we have won a complete victory."

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Maximilian Harden: "The key to the temple of world peace is in the hands of President Wilson."

Morris Hillquit: "A full and true expression of the aspirations of all democratic movements of this war. The next move is up to Germany."

Scott Nearing of the People's Council: "The President has put into perfect English the splendid economic and social ideals of the New Russia."

New York Tribune: "Mr. Wilson's address to Congress will live as one of the great documents in American history and one of the permanent contributions of America to world liberty. . . . He has established an ideal of international policy throughout the civilized world. Today, as never before, the whole nation marches with the President, certain alike of the leader and the cause. In a very deep sense Mr. Wilson's words constitute a second Emancipation Proclamation."

New York World: "The most definite and comprehensive statement of peace terms yet made by any responsible head of any government."

New York Sun: "The President ties up in complete solidarity our cause and that of the European Powers which are fighting the Teutons."

New York Staats Zeitung: "He speaks without restraint for all the world. . . ."

Chicago Tribune: "An unescapable challenge to the Governments of the Central Powers, and, what is perhaps more important, to the conscience of their people."

London Daily News: "President Wilson states the issue with unanswerable truth. . . . It is whether the world is to be governed by the German General Staff."

A London Paper: "The Magna Charta of future peace."

JANUARY 9, 1918—REPORTS PUBLISHED THAT CROWDS IN GERMAN CITIES MARCH DEMANDING PEACE.

(Doubtless permitted by the German Bureau of Enemy Psychology in Berlin as a part of the peace offensive. Germans do not, as a rule, march unless permitted to; and no news leaves Germany that is not intended for outside consumption.)

JANUARY 14, 1918—RUSSO-GERMAN ARMISTICE EXTENDED TO FEBRUARY 18.

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JANUARY 18, 1918—STRIKES AND RIOTS REPORTED THROUGH-
OUT AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

JANUARY 19, 1918—RUSSIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BROKEN
UP BY BOLSHEVIKI, WHO HAD FAILED TO GAIN CONTROL OF
IT IN THE ELECTION.

JANUARY 24, 1918—VON HERTLING, GERMAN CHANCELLOR,
AND COUNT CZERNIN, AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, REPLY
TO LLOYD GEORGE AND PRESIDENT WILSON.

(These leaders, answering the Brest-Litovsk peace offensive, had reiterated the Allied war aims and peace terms. Von Hertling denied every principle of them, assuming Germany's most aggressive and insolent attitude toward world affairs. Czernin, seeming to accept President Wilson's platform in principle, made overtures for a direct exchange of ideas between Austria and the United States.)

JANUARY 26, 1918—GERMAN SOCIALISTS, INDIGNANT OVER
GERMAN CONDUCT OF BREST-LITOVSK NEGOTIATIONS WITH
THE BOLSHEVIKI, WARN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

JANUARY 29, 1918—GERMANY KNOWN TO BE TRANSFERRING
TROOPS FROM RUSSIAN FRONT TO WESTERN FRONT, CON-
TRARY TO TERMS OF THE TRUCE AGREEMENT.

(Another "scrap of paper" incident. Germany's intention, of course, in the successful Russian peace offensive was to relieve herself from pressure on the east in order to free these troops to bring a decision in the West, and to obtain possession of the Russian resources by deceit when they could not be gained by arms. The entire device was detected from the first by Allied statesmen, most of the Allied people, and some of the Allied press.)

FEBRUARY 4, 1918—GERMANY DEFINITELY CONCENTRATING
FOR HUGE SPRING OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST.

(The High Command promised, and possibly hoped, that this would be the final drive of the war.)

FEBRUARY 7, 1918—BOLSHEVIKI REFUSE GERMAN DEMANDS
FOR IMMEDIATE PEACE.

FEBRUARY 9, 1918—THE UKRAINE SIGNS A PEACE WITH
GERMANY.

(A Teuton intrigue, which deceived the people of the Ukraine at the time. Germany subsequently found the Ukraine hot handling.)

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FEBRUARY 10, 1918—RUSSIANS BREAK OFF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT BREST-LITOVSK.

(Germany's terms were intolerable. Every concession led to heavier demands.)

FEBRUARY 11, 1918—BOLSHEVIKI DECLARE WAR AT AN END, AND DISBAND ARMY.

(This proved a conclusive experiment in non-resistance; its consequences convinced even some pacifists that war may be expedient.)

FEBRUARY 11, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS, ANSWERING FURTHER GERMAN PEACE OFFENSIVES.

(The simultaneous utterances of the two great Anglo-Saxon leaders, Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson, a month before, had stirred up a Teutonic turmoil. Germany and Austria replied simultaneously within two weeks; von Hertling for Germany with evasion and subterfuge; Count Czernin, for Austria, in a tone apparently so conciliatory that some hope was entertained that this exchange of views might lead to something, until it became apparent that Count Czernin was merely playing a deep part in the Teutonic game, in which nothing can be trusted. President Wilson, seizing upon the hope, endeavored to drive in a wedge between Germany and her ally, in the following address, delivered before Congress.)

"ONLY ONE PEACE POSSIBLE."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS, ANALYZING GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN PEACE UTTERANCES.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the Congress:

On the eighth of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the fifth of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the twenty-fourth and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging ap-

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proach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

GERMANY STILL WITHSTANDS JUST PRINCIPLES.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk. His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the people and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what

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shall be done with Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

NO PEACE OF SHREDS AND PATCHES.

It must be evident to everyone who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice,—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag Resolutions of the nineteenth of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state. The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security, and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

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NATIONS SIT IN JUDGMENT.

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag Resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied. *But she entered this war because she was made a partner whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany, against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.*

PULL UP THE ROOTS OF WAR.

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must

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now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade. Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles on peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish contracts with regard to provinces and peoples.

COUNT CZERNIN SEEMS TO SEE.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own Empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must of course be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

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After all, the test of whether it is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and

Fourth, that all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

WE CANNOT TURN BACK.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation,—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers,—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. *We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circum-*

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stance consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. *! The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom. **

FEBRUARY 18, 1918—GERMANY RESUMES WAR ON RUSSIA.

(Perhaps one of the most colossal of Germany's many stupid blunders. Nothing she had done so firmly consolidated against her the thought of the free world. This action over a fallen foe, which she had herself previously seduced into a state of physical, mental and spiritual helplessness, startled from their dreams many who had still built castles of peace out of the fatuous faith that there was some moral foundation in Germany upon which to build.)

FEBRUARY 19, 1918—BOLSHEVIKI ACCEPT GERMAN TERMS, BUT DRIVE CONTINUES.

(Here brute force and treachery threw off the mask. Even Germans squirmed at this; while Austria was understood to have refused to take part in the game, as a mark of her disapproval.)

FEBRUARY 19, 1918—LLOYD GEORGE DEFENDS ALLIED UNIFIED CONTROL.

(This marked the final triumph in England of the policy of unified control and direction, consistently supported by the United States from the first. Lloyd George referred to American arguments as having "irresistible power and logic.")

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FEBRUARY 24, 1918—BOLSHEVIKI GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS FOR RUSSIA FURTHER GERMAN PEACE TERMS.

(These terms, imposed by bullying force, were much worse than the first ones, surrendering to Germany—under a German "self-determination" pretext that the inhabitants desired the change—one-fourth of European Russia.)

FEBRUARY 25, 1918—VON HERTLING, FOR GERMANY, CONTINUES PEACE OFFENSIVE.

(Chancellor Von Hertling, while Germany was overrunning Russia, overcome with a "scrap of paper," informed the world in a speech that he could "fundamentally agree" with President Wilson's peace terms, as expressed in the speech of February 11.)

MARCH 11, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON SENDS MESSAGE TO RUSSIAN SOVIETS.

(He expressed sympathy and declared it to be America's intention to help Russia maintain her existence and freedom.)

MARCH 11, 1918—AMERICAN TROOPS GO "OVER THE TOP" FOR THE FIRST TIME.

MARCH 13, 1918—GERMANY FORCIBLY OCCUPIES ODESSA.

(She ratified her treaty of peace with the Ukraine by occupying the capital with troops and beginning to strip the country of supplies. Peasants hid, buried and destroyed grain to prevent the Germans from getting it.)

MARCH 18, 1918—ALLIED NATIONS DENOUNCE GERMANY'S POLITICAL ASSASSINATION OF RUSSIA AND REPUDIATE THE PEACE TREATIES.

MARCH 21, 1918—GREATEST OFFENSIVE OF THE WAR LAUNCHED BY GERMANS.

(With armies swollen by troops drawn from the Russian front, the German High Command, after months of preparation, special training of "shock troops" and diligent publicity in the neutral and enemy press, launched the greatest offensive of the war against the British army, with the general purpose of forcing a favorable peace by a decision at arms before the arrival of help from America. The objectives were either the channel ports or Paris, as the battle might develop. The Germans succeeded in

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driving a deep, broad salient into the British lines, being stopped only short of Amiens. The threat for an anxious week was critical, but the Germans were finally held. This supreme effort was enormously costly in men to the Germans, and gained no vital objectives. American troops were brigaded with English and French, General Pershing offering all the soldiers he had to the Allied Command.)

MARCH 28, 1918—GENERAL PERSHING OFFERS FRANCE ALL THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS ON HAND.

MARCH 29, 1918—GENERAL FOCH MADE GENERALISSIMO, IN SUPREME COMMAND OF ALL ALLIED ARMIES.

APRIL 4, 1918—GERMANS RENEW SUPREME OFFENSIVE.

(This time they struck at the junction of the French and British armies at Amiens, gaining ground, but failing to break through as they had purposed.)

APRIL 6, 1918—FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR; PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS AN ADDRESS AT BALTIMORE.

(Both Germany, through von Hertling, and Austria, through Czernin, made welcoming gestures with one hand toward the principles laid down in President Wilson's speech of February 11th, while with the other they were signing a treacherous peace with Russia which wrested from her vast areas under hypocritical pretexts, subjected millions of people to the German world-will, and cynically ignored every principle for which President Wilson so clearly showed the Allies were sacrificing all. Whereupon President Wilson in an address in Baltimore launched at the Prussian Autocracy possibly the most penetrating and crushing arraignment any nation has ever suffered since the days of the prophets. The peroration of this address, in which President Wilson, in the name of the United States, accepts the German challenge of force, seen in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, will doubtless be pronounced one of the great passages of English speech.)

"FORCE TO THE UTMOST!"

PRESIDENT WILSON ACCEPTS GERMANY'S CHALLENGE.

(Complete)

Fellow Citizens:

This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred

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rights of free men everywhere. The Nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. *We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess.* The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means because the Cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of Justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great Nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

OUR HANDS ARE CLEAN.

I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To

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propose anything but justice, evenhanded and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonour our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

NOW GERMANY'S PURPOSES STAND NAKED.

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We can not mistake what they have done—In Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Roumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement; and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

BEWARE OF THEM!

N A Z I S

Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions can not

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overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the World, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

THERE IS ONE THING TO DO.

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when

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I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

COMMENTS ON ANNIVERSARY SPEECH AT BALTIMORE.

Columbia State: "President Wilson is the living voice of this war, as France is its living soul. With Wilson as the inspiration, with Foch as the directing genius of the war, and with the unconquerable troops of all the Allies as the resistless enginery of battle, victory is certain."

Figaro: "Finally Germany's character has been revealed to President Wilson as that of a monster nation, existing only by devouring others until it shall devour itself."

New York Evening Post: "Now the Teutonic peace propaganda has killed itself, and Mr. Wilson once more rallies all elements in this Country to the united support of the war by showing the insincerity and the duplicity of the enemy's peace overtures."

APRIL 9-10, 1918—GERMANS DRIVE AGAINST ARRAS.

("The Pillar of Arras" had held up the first German tide in its sweep toward the Channel Ports. Desperate fighting met with a more desperate resistance. Reserves were brought up in sufficient forces to hold.)

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APRIL 12, 1918—GENERAL HAIG ISSUES HIS FAMOUS "BACK TO THE WALL" ORDER OF THE DAY.

("With our backs to the wall . . . each one of us must fight on to the end . . ." He told his soldiers that the French were on the way. They fought on; the French came, and the Germans were held.)

MAY 11, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON ISSUES A MEMORIAL DAY PROCLAMATION.

MEMORIAL DAY PROCLAMATION.

A PROCLAMATION: Whereas, the Congress of the United States on the second day of April last passed the following resolution:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it being a duty peculiarly incumbent in a time of war humbly and devoutly to acknowledge our dependence on Almighty God and to implore His aid and protection, the President of the United States be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of our cause, His blessings on our arms, and a speedy restoration of an honorable and lasting peace to the nations of the earth";

And whereas, it has always been the reverent habit of the people of the United States to turn in humble appeal to Almighty God for His guidance in the affairs of their common life;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the 30th of May, a day already freighted with sacred and stimulating memories, a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting, and do exhort my fellow-citizens of all faiths and creeds to assemble on that day in their several places of worship and there, as well as in their homes, to pray Almighty God that He may forgive our sins and shortcomings as a people and purify our hearts to see and love the truth, to accept and defend all things that are just and right, and to purpose only those righteous acts and judgments which are in conformity with His will; beseeching Him that He will give victory for our Armies as they fight for freedom, wisdom to those who take counsel on our behalf in these days of dark struggle and perplexity and steadfastness to our people to make sacrifice to the utmost in support of what is just and true, bringing us at last the peace in which

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men's hearts can be at rest because it is founded upon mercy, justice and good will.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this 11th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1918, and of the independence of the United States the 142d.

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MAY 20, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERS AN ADDRESS AT NEW YORK LAUNCHING A RED CROSS DRIVE.

(Another splendid war utterance; another rallying cry, responded to throughout the nation. President Wilson asked the nation for "troops without limit.")

"TROOPS WITHOUT LIMIT."

PRESIDENT WILSON RESTATES WAR AIMS AND ASKS FOR MORE SOLDIERS.

(Abridged)

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Countrymen: I should be very sorry to think that Mr. Davison in any degree curtailed his extraordinarily interesting speech for fear that he was postponing mine, because I am sure you listened with the same intent and intimate interest with which I listened to the extraordinary vivid account he gave of the things which he had realized because he had come in contact with them on the other side of the waters.

We compass them with our imagination; he compassed them in his personal experience, and I am not come here tonight to review for you the work of the Red Cross; I am not competent to do so because I have not had the time or the opportunity to follow it in detail. I have come here simply to say a few words to you as to what it all seems to me to mean, and it means a great deal.

There are two duties with which we are face to face. The first duty is to win the war. And the second duty, that goes hand in hand with it, is to win it greatly and worthily, showing the real quality of our power not only, but the real quality of our purpose and of ourselves. Of course, the first duty, the duty that we must keep in the foreground of our thought until it is accomplished, is to win the war.

NO LIMIT TO TROOPS.

I have heard gentlemen recently say that we must get 5,000,000 men ready. Why limit it to 5,000,000? I have asked

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the Congress of the United States to name no limit because the Congress intends, I am sure, as we all intend, that every ship that can carry men or supplies shall go laden upon every voyage with every man and every supply she can carry. And we are not to be diverted from the grim purpose of winning the war by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace.

I can say with a clear conscience that I have tested their intimations and have found them insincere. I now recognize them for what they are, an opportunity to have a free hand, particularly in the east, to carry out purposes of conquest and exploitation.

Every proposal with regard to accommodation in the west involves a reservation with regard to the east. Now, so far as I am concerned, I intend to stand by Russia as well as France.

The helpless, the friendless, are the very ones that need friends and succor, and if any man in Germany thinks we are going to sacrifice anybody for our own sake, I tell them now they are mistaken. For the glory of this war, my fellow citizens, so far as we are concerned, is that it is, perhaps for the first time in history, an unselfish war.

I should not be proud to fight for a selfish purpose, but I can be proud to fight for mankind. If they wish peace, let them come forward through accredited representatives and lay their claims on the table. We have laid ours and they know what they are.

THE TIES OF WAR.

But behind all this grim purpose, my friends, lies the opportunity to demonstrate not only force, which will be demonstrated to the utmost, but the opportunity to demonstrate character, and it is that opportunity that we have most conspicuously in the work of the Red Cross. Not that our men in arms do not represent our character, for they do, and it is a character which those who see and realize, appreciate and admire; but their duty is the duty of force. The duty of the Red Cross is the duty of mercy and succor and friendship.

Have you formed a picture in your imagination of what this war is doing for us and for the world? In my own mind I am convinced that not a hundred years of peace could have knitted this nation together as this single year of war has knitted it together, and better even than that, if possible, it is knitting the world together.

Look at the picture. In the center of the scene four nations engaged against the world, and at every point of vantage, showing that they are seeking selfish aggrandizement, and against

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them 23 governments representing the greater part of the population of the world, drawn together into a new sense of community of purpose, a new sense of community of interest, a new sense of unity of life. . . .

Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together. And this intimate contact of the Red Cross with the peoples who are suffering the terrors and deprivations of this war is going to be one of the greatest instrumentalities of friendship that the world ever knew, and the centre of the heart of it all, if we sustain it properly, will be this land that we so dearly love. . . .

MAY 27, 1918—GERMANS LAUNCH ANOTHER DRIVE FROM CHEMIN DES DAMES.

(This drive was aimed against the French, with the object of striking through between Soissons and Rheims, reaching the Marne and swinging down to Paris. It flowed over Soissons, reached the Marne, but did not swing down to Paris, the pillar at Rheims holding this time and threatening the flank of such a movement, had it been attempted. Efforts to dislodge the French from Rheims were futile and the offensive died away with the Germans at the Marne for the second time in the war.)

JUNE 1, 1918—GERMANS REACH THE MARNE.

JUNE 7, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON TALKS TO A GROUP OF MEXICAN EDITORS VISITING THE UNITED STATES.

(This talk is perhaps one of the President's most important utterances during the war. It throws a bright white light upon his Mexican policy, at one time the object of violent criticism, as a demonstration of the principles of international relationship and responsibility upon which his statesmanship is founded. It brings out the contrast between the Wilson and the Prussian policy of winning nations. The United States had been feared with varying degrees of distrust from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, for years. "Dollar diplomacy" was a more or less accurate epithet applied to our foreign policy. Certain events of recent years had not quieted the distrust or discredited the epithet. This informal and intimate self-revelation will doubtless prove to have been its death blow. The visiting Editors who heard it were wholly convinced of the man's sincerity, earnestness and power. Publication of this speech was withheld in the United States until it appeared in the Mexican papers.)

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"WE MUST TRUST EACH OTHER."

A TALK TO VISITING MEXICAN EDITORS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE,
JUNE 7, 1918.

Gentlemen:

(Complete)

I have never received a group of men who were more welcome than you are, because it has been one of my distresses during the period of my Presidency that the Mexican people did not more thoroughly understand the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. I think I can assure you, and I hope you have had every evidence of the truth of my assurance, that that attitude is one of sincere friendship. And not merely the sort of friendship which prompts one not to do his neighbor any harm, but the sort of friendship which earnestly desires to do his neighbor service.

My own policy, the policy of my administration, toward Mexico was at every point based upon this principle, that the internal settlement of the affairs of Mexico was none of our business; that we had no right to interfere with or to dictate to Mexico in any particular with regard to her own affairs. Take one aspect of our relations which at one time may have been difficult for you to understand: When we sent troops into Mexico, our sincere desire was nothing else than to assist you to get rid of a man who was making the settlement of your affairs for the time being impossible. We had no desire to use our troops for any other purpose, and I was in hopes that by assisting in that way and then immediately withdrawing I might give substantial proof of the truth of the assurances that I had given your Government through President Carranza.

And at the present time it distresses me to learn that certain influences, which I assume to be German in their origin, are trying to make a wrong impression throughout Mexico as to the purposes of the United States, and not only a wrong impression, but to give an absolutely untrue account of things that happen. You know the distressing things that have been happening just off our coasts. You know of the vessels that have been sunk. I yesterday received a quotation from a paper in Guadalajara which stated that thirteen of our battleships had been sunk off the capes of the Chesapeake. You see how dreadful it is to have people so radically misinformed. It was added that our Navy Department was withholding the truth with regard to these sinkings. I have no doubt that the publisher of the paper published that in perfect innocence without intending to convey wrong impressions, but it is evident that allegations of that sort proceed from those who wish to make trouble between Mexico and the United States.

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WE ONLY WANT TO HELP.

Now, gentlemen, for the time being, at any rate—and I hope it will not be a short time—the influence of the United States is somewhat pervasive in the affairs of the world, and I believe that it is pervasive because the nations of the world which are less powerful than some of the greatest nations are coming to believe that our sincere desire is to do disinterested service. We are the champions of those nations which have not had a military standing which would enable them to compete with the strongest nations in the world, and I look forward with pride to the time, which I hope will soon come, when we can give substantial evidence, not only that we do not want anything out of this war, but that we would not accept anything out of it, that it is absolutely a case of disinterested action. And if you will watch the attitude of our people, you will see that nothing stirs them so deeply as assurances that this war, so far as we are concerned, is for idealistic objects. One of the difficulties that I experienced during the first three years of the war—the years when the United States was not in the war—was in getting the foreign offices of European nations to believe that the United States was seeking nothing for herself, that her neutrality was not selfish, and that if she came in, she would not come in to get anything substantial out of the war, any material object, any territory, or trade, or anything else of that sort. In some of the foreign offices there were men who personally knew me and they believed, I hope, that I was sincere in assuring them that our purposes were disinterested, but they thought that these assurances came from an academic gentleman removed from the ordinary sources of information and speaking the idealistic purposes of the cloister. They did not believe that I was speaking the real heart of the American people, and I knew all along that I was. Now I believe that everybody who comes into contact with the American people knows that I am speaking their purposes.

The other night in New York, at the opening of the campaign for funds for our Red Cross, I made an address. I had not intended to refer to Russia, but I was speaking without notes and in the course of what I said my own thought was led to Russia, and I said that we meant to stand by Russia just as firmly as we would stand by France or England or any other of the allies. The audience to which I was speaking was not an audience from which I would have expected an enthusiastic response to that. It was rather too well dressed. It was not an audience, in other words, made of the class of people whom you would suppose to have the most intimate feeling for the sufferings of the

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ordinary man in Russia, but that audience jumped into the aisles, the whole audience rose to its feet, and nothing that I had said on that occasion aroused anything like the enthusiasm that that single sentence aroused. Now, there is a sample, gentlemen. We can not make anything out of Russia. We can not make anything out of standing by Russia at this time—the most remote of the European nations, so far as we are concerned, the one with which we have had the least connections in trade and advantage—and yet the people of the United States rose to that suggestion as to no other that I made in that address. That is the heart of America, and we are ready to show you by any act of friendship that you may propose our real feelings toward Mexico.

WE HAVE NO DESIGNS ON AMERICA.

Some of us, if I may say so privately, look back with regret upon some of the more ancient relations that we have had with Mexico long before our generation; and America, if I may so express it, would now feel ashamed to take advantage of a neighbor. So I hope that you can carry back to your homes something better than the assurances of words. You have had contact with our people. You know your own personal reception. You know how gladly we have opened to you the doors of every establishment that you wanted to see and have shown you just what we were doing, and I hope you have gained the right impression as to why we were doing it. We are doing it, gentlemen, so that the world may never hereafter have to fear the only thing that any nation has to dread, the unjust and selfish aggression of another nation. Some time ago, as you probably all know, I proposed a sort of Pan-American agreement. I had perceived that one of the difficulties of our relationship with Latin America was this: The famous Monroe doctrine was adopted without your consent, without the consent of any of the Central or South American States.

If I may express it in terms that we so often use in this country, we said, "We are going to be your big brother, whether you want us to be or not." We did not ask whether it was agreeable to you that we should be your big brother. We said we were going to be. Now, that was all very well so far as protecting you from aggression from the other side of the water was concerned, but there was nothing in it that protected you from aggression from us, and I have repeatedly seen the uneasy feeling on the part of representatives of the States of Central and South America that our self-appointed protection might be for our own benefit and our own interests and not for the interest of our neighbors. So I said, very well, let us make an arrangement by which we

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will give bond. Let us have a common guarantee, that all of us will sign, of political independence and territorial integrity. Let us agree that if any one of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or the territorial integrity of any of the others, all the others will jump on her. I pointed out to some of the gentlemen who were less inclined to enter into this arrangement than others that that was in effect giving bonds on the part of the United States, that we would enter into an arrangement by which you would be protected from us.

WE SHOULD SHOW THE WAY TO THE WORLD.

Now, that is the kind of agreement that will have to be the foundation of the future life of the nations of the world, gentlemen. The whole family of nations will have to guarantee to each nation that no nation shall violate its political independence or its territorial integrity. That is the basis, the only conceivable basis, for the future peace of the world, and I must admit that I was ambitious to have the States of the two continents of America show the way to the rest of the world as to how to make a basis of peace. Peace can come only by trust. As long as there is suspicion there is going to be misunderstanding, and as long as there is misunderstanding there is going to be trouble. If you can once get a situation of trust then you have got a situation of permanent peace. Therefore, every one of us, it seems to me, owes it as a patriotic duty to his own country to plant the seeds of trust and of confidence instead of the seeds of suspicion and variety of interest. That is the reason that I began by saying to you that I have not had the pleasure of meeting a group of men who were more welcome than you are, because you are our near neighbors. Suspicion on your part or misunderstanding on your part distresses us more than we would be distressed by similar feelings on the part of those less near by.

When you reflect how wonderful a storehouse of treasure Mexico is, you can see how her future must depend upon peace and honor, so that nobody shall exploit her. It must depend upon every nation that has any relations with her, and the citizens of any nation that has relations with her, keeping within the bounds of honor and fair dealing and justice, because so soon as you can admit your own capital and the capital of the world to the free use of the resources of Mexico, it will be one of the most wonderfully rich and prosperous countries in the world. And when you have the foundations of established order, and the world has come to its senses again, we shall, I hope, have the very best connections that will assure us all a permanent cordiality and friendship.

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COMMENT ON TALK TO THE MEXICAN EDITORS.

The visiting editors agreed that the President's frank speech had done more to combat pro-Germanism and promote the interests of America in Mexico than has any diplomatic move since the days of Diaz.

Manuel Caspo, Editor of La Vos de la Revolucion, Merida, Yucatan: "We have decided that your President is our friend, and when we go back we shall be able to enlighten our people."

Mercurio, Santiago, Chile: ". . . will result in added prestige to all the nations on the American continent."

New York Globe: "Not only a complete vindication of the complicated and much misunderstood Mexican policy of the Administration, but the foundation on which for all time Pan-American peace can rise."

Detroit News: "His words represent the deepest and most abiding intention of the people of the United States."

Newark News: "To see the President's project in all the fullness of its significance, it is necessary only to contrast it with the proposal put forth at almost the same time by Vice-Chancellor von Payer, of Germany, for a Mitteleuropa that would bring Russia, Poland, Bulgaria and Turkey under the permanent political and economic dominion of Germany and its vassal Austria. The German plan is all for self; the Wilson plan is all for all. Materialism and idealism sit facing one another."

London Daily Graphic: "Upon such altruism alone can an enduring peace be founded."

The Daily News hails Mr. Wilson as "the architect of the world's future."

JUNE 12, 1918—THE PRESIDENT WRITES A LETTER ON SUFFRAGE.

(President Wilson's record on Woman's Suffrage is an illustration of his ability to let his opinions grow. Whilst subscribing to it as an abstract principle, he was at first strongly inclined to let the states settle the problem, pleading that he had no mandate either from the people or the party to make a national issue of it. Its deeper meanings, however, as a phase and aspect of the universal democracy for which the nation had entered the war, began to find expression through him, until we here see him advocating nation-wide woman's suffrage as essential to world democracy.)

A LETTER ON SUFFRAGE TO MRS. CATT.

My Dear Mrs. Catt: May I not thank you for transmitting to me the very interesting memorial addressed to be by the French Union for Woman Suffrage under date of February first, last.

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Since you have been kind enough to transmit this interesting and impressive message to me, will you not be good enough to convey to the subscribers this answer:

I have read your message with the deepest interest and I welcome the opportunity to say that I agree without reservation that the full and sincere democratic reconstruction of the world for which we are striving and which we are determined to bring about at any cost, will not have been completely or adequately attained until women are admitted to the suffrage, and that only by that action can the nations of the world realize for the benefit of future generations the full ideal force of opinion or the full humane forces of action.

The services of women during this supreme crisis of the world's history have been of the most signal usefulness and distinction. The war could not have been fought without them, or its sacrifices endured. It is high time that some part of our debt of gratitude to them should be acknowledged and paid, and the only acknowledgment they ask is their admission to the suffrage. Can we justly refuse it? As for America, it is my earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will give an unmistakable answer to this question by passing the suffrage amendment to our Federal Constitution before the end of this session.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Signed)

WOODROW WILSON.

JULY 4, 1918—PRESIDENT WILSON SPEAKS AT THE TOMB OF WASHINGTON.

(President Wilson commits the nation to fight on until the world is free. One of the most solemn, cosmic and moving of all his utterances. Foreign representatives were present.)

"WE SEEK THE REIGN OF LAW."

FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON'S TOMB.

(Complete)

Gentlemen of the diplomatic corps and my fellow citizens: I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle

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slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiring associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies around us and conceive anew the purpose that must set men free.

THEY, TOO, SPOKE FOR ALL MANKIND.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they are setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only but for all mankind. They were thinking, not of themselves and of the material interests which centered in the little group of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of here, but of a people who wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of freemen. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation what shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled once for all what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who

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look on and to the friends with whom we have had the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purposes with which we act.

THE ISSUE IS CLEAR.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others also who suffered under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and every part of the world—the peoples of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of governments who speak no common purpose but only selfish ambitions of their own by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; governments which fear their people and yet are for the time their sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The past and the present are in deadly grapple and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

THE SETTLEMENT MUST BE FINAL.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No half-way decision would be tolerable. No half-way decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

1. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

2. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of political relationship upon the basis of the free acceptance of the settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

3. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of

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respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

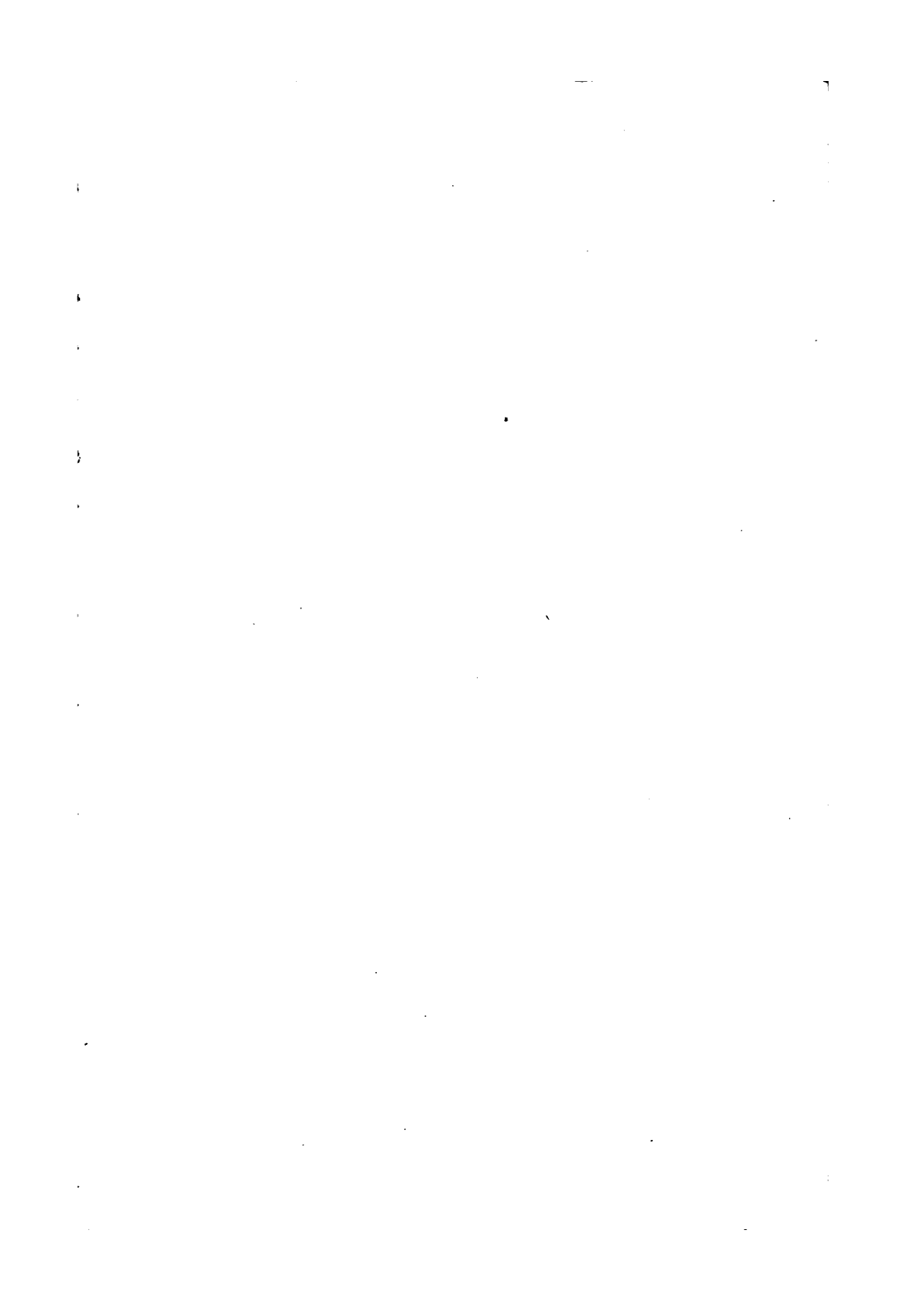
4. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment, that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned, shall be sanctioned.

WE SEEK THE REIGN OF LAW.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish, with their projects for balances of power and national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I cannot but fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own peoples, as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they know little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!



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